

LOOKING FOR THE PREHISPANIC FILIPINO

and Other Essays in Philippine History

by

William Henry Scott



Quezon City, Philippines
1992

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/ FOREWORD

Although we know so much more about our history in 1992, in this centennial year of the Philippine Revolution, than was the case say ten or twenty years ago, the task of reconstructing and reinterpreting it in light of centuries of misinterpretations, distortions and omissions remains a formidable and overwhelming one. To compensate for this horrendous neglect of our history, we need to identify and rectify the imbalances in historical scholarship, to apply the best techniques, use the best perspectives not only of the discipline of history but also those of sister disciplines in the social sciences and humanities as well as access the voluminous historical data in archives and libraries in many parts of the world. It hardly need be stated that there is also a need to re-read the earlier historical presentations for many of them have served only to obscure the real contours of our development as a people. We have reached a stage in our historical development where the rescue of our culture is of utmost importance: we must make any aspect of our culture ever present and easy of access to see its assonance with (or significance in) our present life and to free it from the alienating forces that have prevented its self-appraisal. Obviously, any scholar who engages in the above process would also contribute to the affirmation of the Filipino identity and provide substance to the truism that history can be an instrument of liberation.

More than two decades ago, a prominent historian expressed the opinion that there is no Philippine history before 1872, that is to say, that the sources, being mostly in Spanish and written by Spaniards, could only be used effectively in writing the history of Spain and Spaniards in the Philippines. William Henry Scott has time and again proved this *obiter dictum* a gross error. Using the same sources consulted by conventional historians in the 1950s and the 1960s, accessing the voluminous documentation in the Spanish archives, drawing on new methodologies and interpretations, Scott provides perspectives of colonial society other Philippine historians have not

done. His use of the dictionaries as a key to understanding many facets of colonial life has inspired many young students to do the same with truly rewarding results. His dissatisfaction with past explanations of issues and themes in Philippine history has resulted in painstakingly researched work that provides fascinating and instructive studies on colonial life and society.

The scholarship that informs his earlier books are ever present in this collection of essays. The lead essay in this collection points to one important direction in historical research: the need to re-read the historical documents hitherto ignored or taken for granted and, just as important, to subject to harsh scrutiny the mediated (i.e., translated) sources that we have inherited from an earlier generation of historians. His essay on Cebu politics during the early years of contact between the Spaniards and the Filipinos ("Why Did Tupas Betray Dagami?") provides insights into Philippine politics and should make us ponder on the nature and character of the indigenous elite. In the essays on Tagalog technology, slavery, Visayan literature, religion, food and farming, the author has shown that the materials that had been used perfunctorily for broad statements or conclusions in Philippine history are actually amenable to detailed social and economic analysis. While the essays range widely in subject matter, they focus on the identification of the forces that determine patterns of cultural accommodation, struggle, political as well as economic change during the first century of Spanish colonization. In these essays, the Filipinos are seen neither as passive objects of colonial rule nor as victims of early Spanish policy. Rather, they are seen as actors who have responded to their environment as well as events in a manner that have helped determine their destiny in history. It is in this sense that this collection of essays is an important and welcome contribution to the understanding of our country's still unmastered past.

The other day I asked the author if he is still an American citizen to which of course he replied yes. This might have been a facetious question but one I thought quite apropos regarding a scholar like Dr. Scott who has done more research and writing on our history, culture and society than any other social and cultural historian in the country today. He does so not because such an activity provides his daily bread and butter but because of a very real love and concern for, and sympathy with, the Filipino people. He expresses this again in this latest collection of essays on transformation as a people under

colonial rule. No Filipino mindful of our national heritage can afford to ignore this contribution to an understanding of our past. Dr. Scott leads many in the historian's profession in our difficult search for the roots of the Filipino nation.

For this, Scotty, maraming salamat!

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28 June 1992
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5. "The Conquerors as Seen by the Conquered," *PHILIPPINE STUDIES* 34 (1986): 493-506.
6. "Sixteenth-Century Tagalog Technology from the Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala of Pedro de San Buenaventura, OFM, Pila 1613" in Rainer Carle, ed., *GAVA': STUDIES IN AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE DEDICATED TO HANS KAHLER* (Berlin, 1982): 523-535.
7. "Oripun and Alipin in the 16th-Century Philippines" in Anthony Reid, ed., *SLAVERY, BONDAGE AND DEPENDENCY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA* (1983): 138-155.
8. "Lost Visayan Literature," *KINAADMAN* 14 (1992): 19-30.
9. "Visayan Religion at the Time of Spanish Advent," *PHILIPPINIANA SACRA* 25 (1990): 397-415.
10. "Sixteenth-Century Visayan Food and Farming," *PHILIPPINE QUARTERLY OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY* 18 (1990): 291-311.
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LOOKING FOR THE PREHISPANIC FILIPINO: MISTRANSLATIONS AND PRECONCEPTIONS

Some years ago I had the opportunity to read a paper on the history of Philippine society by a Filipino student in Cornell University. In passing, the author referred to prehispanic social structure as "tribal," citing Juan Plasencia's 1589 "Customs of the Tagalogs" as evidence. "In Father Plasencia's own words," he wrote, "'This tribal gathering is called in Tagalo a *barangay*.'"¹

In actual fact, however, these were not Father Plasencia's own words; they were the words of Harvard historian Frederick W. Morrison who provided this translation for Volume 7 of the monumental Blair & Robertson compendium, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. Whether a Tagalog *barangay* was a tribal gathering or not, Father Plasencia did not say so. What he said was: "These [datus] were chiefs of but few people, as many as a hundred houses and even less than thirty; and this they call in Tagalog, *barangay*."² The word "tribal" was, therefore, supplied by an American history professor in 1903, not an eye-witness in 1589, and so reflects a 20th-century preconception of what 16th-century Philippine society was like. And the incident itself reflects a problem facing any Filipino student searching for his own past: his textbooks were all written in English by authors who used English translations as their sources.

Of course, any translator might easily sympathize with Professor Morrison's own problem. It is often impossible to find a word in modern English which is the equivalent of some term in 16th-century Spanish. When translating Plasencia's four classes of Tagalog society, for example, what was Morrison to do with words like *principales*, *hidalgos*, *pecheros* and *esclavos*? Principales were clearly *datus*, those the Spaniards first called kings until they discovered they had neither kingdoms nor power over other *datus*, and the *esclavos* were *alipin*, slaves. But Plasencia also distinguished a serf-like category of slaves who owned their own houses as a separate class he called *pecheros*, tribute-payers. And between these and the *datus*, he recognized the *datu's* non-slave subjects, *maharlika*, as *hidalgos*, gentry

or well-to-do, which Morrison in his turn translated as "nobles." Like *hidalgos*, these *maharlika* accompanied their lord to war armed at their own expense, but unlike them, they rowed his boat alongside slave oarsmen, harvested his rice like field hands, and provided manual labor when he called for it.

It is true that *hidalgos* were technically a lower grade of nobility, but the translation "nobles" is misleading; in both English and Spanish, nobles are titled lords—like the Count of Monte Cristo or the Duke of Windsor. Titled lords in Tagalog society—like Rajah Soliman of Manila or Lakandula of Tondo—were *maginoo*, not *maharlika*. The early dictionaries define *maharlika* unambiguously as freemen, *libres*, or freedmen, *libertos*—e.g., "*Sa ikapat ang kamaharlikaan ko—I'm one-quarter free.*"³ Freedmen were former slaves, and when they were freed they became, not nobles, but the class ancestors of the Filipino peasantry. One does not know whether to laugh or cry that Morrison's innocent mistranslation has persuaded three generations of Filipinos that their ancestors had an order of nobility called *Maharlika*, a myth of such popular appeal that one president's wife soberly proposed renaming the Republic, *Maharlika*.

There are also less innocent mistranslations, ones which include patent errors, some insignificant but some distorting. Four examples will suffice.

1. Clements Markham in 1911 translated one of the Spanish King's instructions to Garcia de Loaysa as, "Vessels of Timor and Borneo, which are the best, should be procured; and as some of the Moors themselves will be in the business, they will like to sail in them."⁴ What Markham translated as "Moors themselves will be in the business" is "*metiendo en parte a los mismos Moros de la contratación*"—that is, taking the Moors themselves into the business.⁵ The error is insignificant, but it disguises the readiness of sworn enemies of Islam to share profits with Muslims if it was in their own interest to do so. Perhaps Markham forgot that the King had also instructed Magellan to make friends with any Muslims encountered on the Spanish side of the so-called Papal Line of Demarcation but to seize for ransom or sale any from the Portuguese side. Or that all five expeditions from Magellan to Legazpi survived starvation only because of business with Muslims.

2. In 1837, Martín Fernández de Navarrete published a 1526 account of the Saavedra expedition, which described how a boatload

of Spaniards had been killed on the Surigao coast by a king called Katunaw, "who had come to raid that land which was his enemy."⁶ But Navarrete added his own version of the incident by rendering the passage, "*que iba a robar por aquella tierra que era sus enemigos*," as "saying that they [the Spaniards] were his enemies who came to raid." Another small error, but one which withholds the information that Filipinos raided one another. Yet Spanish accounts unanimously reported that Filipinos fought local wars, took captives in slave raids, and tattooed in proportion to their performance in battle—conditions which made divide-and-conquer tactics so effective.

3. In 1569, Miguel López de Legazpi decided to transfer the Spanish camp from Cebu to Panay because of its abundance of rice, with the additional advantage, he explained in a letter, that "from the sea they [the Portuguese] cannot prevent it from coming down the river from the mountains."⁸ But the Blair and Robertson translation of this passage reads, "No one from the sea could prevent us from going up the river to the mountains."⁹ This outright error obscures the fact that it was normal for rice to come down the river, that it was grown in the hills and was traded—as Miguel de Loarca reported 12 years later—to coastal Panayanos for fish and salt, that, in short, highlanders and lowlanders lived in symbiotic relationship with one another.

4. Blair and Robertson present a translation of Baltazar de Santa Cruz's 1693 Dominican history which includes the following passage about Christian converts in what is now Nueva Vizcaya: "Those Indians were at war continually with other people of the interior, more powerful, who greatly persecuted them, and the faith of Christ."¹⁰ But the translator deleted a whole clause, "*por averse sugetado a los Españoles, y a la Fe de Cristo*," which in the original gave the reason for the persecution—"for having submitted to the Spaniards and the Faith of Christ."¹¹ The deletion makes the Christian Faith an object of the attack rather than the converts whose submission threatened the independence of their pagan neighbors. Perhaps the translator was unaware of a political pattern which continued right up to the end of the Spanish colony, namely, that Filipinos who became Spanish subjects also became enemies of Filipinos who did not.

These translations and mistranslations all appeared in scholarly works which celebrated the extension of Western empire into the Philippine archipelago. Markham's *Early Spanish Voyages to the*

Strait of Magellan was the definitive work of its day, and the title of Navarrete's five volumes speaks for itself— *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV* (Collection of the Voyages and Discoveries which the Spaniards made by Sea since the End of the 15th Century). And Blair and Robertson introduce their 55 volumes with the explanation, "The entrance of the United States of America into the arena of world-politics, the introduction of American influence into Oriental affairs, and the establishment of American authority in the Philippine archipelago, all render the history of those islands and their numerous peoples a topic of engrossing interest to the reading public." The translators were therefore, if not colonial apologists, at least impressed with its advantages for colonized peoples, and little inclined to dwell on its economic motivations. Thus, wittingly or not, Markham glossed over Charles V's unblushing pragmatism, and Robertson denied a pagan mountain tribe the dignity of a rational motive for its warfare.

At the time these books were written, the majority of the Filipino people were descendants of ancestors who at one time or another had submitted to Spanish rule. A minority that had maintained their independence were perceived as Moro pirates or headhunting savages, differing from the majority not only in culture but in race. Given the premise, it followed that the same dichotomy should have been discernible in the Philippine population at the time of Spanish advent. It was presumably this preconception which accounts for the careless translations cited above, and it is one with which contemporary historians and history students alike still attempt to reconstruct prehispanic Philippine society. Texts are not wanting which even state, erroneously, that the Spaniards found highland and lowland Filipinos at war with one another when they arrived. Loarca's 1582 *Relación* has sometimes been cited out of context as evidence, though what he said in full was:

There are two kinds of men in this land [Panay] who, though they are all one, behave somewhat differently and are almost always enemies—the one, those who live on the seacoast, and the other, those who live in the mountains, and if they have some peace between them it is because of the necessity they have of one another to sustain human life, because those of the mountains cannot live without the fish and salt and other things and

jars and plates which come from other parts, nor can those on the coast live without the rice and cotton which the mountaineers have.¹²

In short, whatever enmity they may have felt, it did not interfere with a trade that was a normal part of their existence.

First-generation Spanish accounts describe Filipino warfare as endemic and seasonal. Rajah Kulambo told Magellan he had enemies "but that it wasn't the right season to go there then,"¹³ and pioneer missionary Martín de Rada wrote in 1577, "Every year as soon as they harvest their fields, they man their ships to go to plunder."¹⁴ But they say nothing about any mountaineer enemies. After the conquest of lowland Luzon, however, complaints about attack by unconquered highlanders became a regular refrain. By the 17th century this unwillingness to submit was being explained as an innate character flaw. Rodrigo de Aganduru Móríz's 1623 *Historia general* is typical.

Fray Rodrigo wrote at a time when the people of Leyte and Samar were tax-paying Spanish subjects, but those on the Surigao coast of Mindanao were still resisting a Spanish fort at Tandag. The latter, he describes as real beasts: "When you are talking to them, they will look at your head covetously as if it were gold, and say, 'Oh, what a fine head!' unable to conceal their evil nature or barbaric desire." The Visayans he characterizes as "very good-natured, compassionate, and fond of entertaining strangers," and rhapsodizes about their hospitality to shipwrecked Spaniards from the Villalobos expedition, without mentioning that when those guests were rescued, they were ransomed off and three of them retained for failure to meet the asking price. But then, deploring Mindanao slave raids, he contradictorily writes:

The *indios* of the Bisayas say that before they gave obedience to the King our Lord, and became Christians, not only did the Mindanaons not make raids in their territory, but that, on the contrary, they would go to Mindanao where they took many captives, and terrified them, but now . . . [that] they are disarmed, they are paying for what they did then.¹⁵

At the time of the Spanish advent, Manila was rapidly becoming, if it had not already become, the main entrepot in the archipelago.

Lakandula of Tondo was enforcing a trade monopoly on Chinese junks anchored in the Bay, removing their rudders while in port, and receiving half their goods on a year's credit. Manila merchants were retailing these imports to other islands, where they were often called Chinese because of these wares. Earlier, Pigafetta had found a Luzon vessel loading sandalwood in Timor, and when the Portuguese took Malacca in 1511, they appointed a wealthy Luzon businessman by the name of Regimo as *temenggong* (governor) of the Muslim community. Regimo had migrated there in the preceding century, married a local lady and received the Malay title *Diraja*, sent his ships annually to China, Brunei and Siam, and attracted other Filipino businessmen to follow him.

Trade centers always become sophisticated because foreign contacts bring new ideas and products. Manila not only had a gun foundry in 1572, but an alphabet which was then spreading to the Visayas, and its urban elite spoke Malay as a prestigious second language. Traditional values and customs had changed to achieve new goals: a Franciscan account describes Tagalog headtaking in the past tense. Father Rada said that Filipinos around Manila did not make slave raids or human sacrifices "because of their being more merchants than warlike," but that—no doubt for the same reason—they excelled all others in "robberies, thefts [and] tyrannies of property and persons."¹⁶ People in rural areas with less access to these new products and attitudes were naturally more conservative, and those in the hills even more so. And those in the remote sierras and cordilleras retained their traditional values and customs longest of all.

Where colonial authority was established, principales who hoped to retain some power quickly learned what Spaniards considered uncivilized. An illustration of 1593 shows a Tagalog wearing *pantalones* instead of *bahag*, and Dutch Admiral Van Noort scouting the Albay coast in 1600 reported that many hispanized natives had pants and skirts, though former chiefs were still "very nicely, beautifully and artistically" tattooed.¹⁷ Friars did their part to speed the process. Father San Buenaventura said, "Whoever files his teeth I will surely punish,"¹⁸ and the Synod of Calasiao directed priests to make surprise school inspections for circumcized boys and ridicule their parents from the pulpit. By the turn of the century, Tondo principales were selling or mortgaging land with title deeds in Spanish—replete with conflicting testimonies sworn under oath or spurious claims to

royal descent. But country folk in the "boondocks" were slow to change. New missionaries were still being sent outside Manila for language training in the 18th century because, lexicographer Pedro de Sanlucar said, "It is a common and true saying that to learn Tagalog requires almost one year of study and three of G-string."¹⁹

By the 19th century, this whole process of acculturation had been forgotten. Untattooed Filipinos who wore pants and did not decorate their teeth considered themselves a different people from mountain tribes with traditional practices now considered barbaric. College graduates who called themselves Filipinos bitterly resented being lumped together with headtaking Igorots as indios, especially on the streets of Madrid. The final turn of the screw came with the Exposition of the Philippine Islands in the Madrid Zoological Gardens in 1887.

The exhibition of Philippine products and handicrafts had been welcomed by the Filipino community in Madrid as a means of publicizing the colony's wealth and competence for representation in the metropolitan legislature. But they had not foreseen what was to attract the most attention—an Igorot Village where six Bontoc warriors, battle-scarred and tattooed, were exhibited and their naked musculature measured. Jose Rizal wrote in anguish:

I worked hard against this degradation of my fellow Filipinos that they should not be exhibited among the animals and plants! But I was helpless . . . I would rather that they all got sick and died so they would suffer no more. Let the Philippines forget that her sons have been treated like this!

But, in fact, it was more than a half dozen Igorots who were degraded. *Igorrote* became a household word, young ladies stared at Antonio Luna on the street and murmured, "Jesus, how horrible—an Igorot!" and Senator Manuel Salamanca argued in open session against the possibility of seating Filipinos because they might smell like Igorots.²⁰

The memory of the Madrid Exposition was still an open wound when the American colonial government sent an even larger Igorot village to the St. Louis Exposition in 1903-1904. There, Americans who did not have an opportunity to see them in the flesh, could read about them in a newspaper debate over offence to public decency by the naked display of that flesh. Following the Exposition, they and

their spears, G-strings and culinary habits were exhibited in carnivals all over the United States and Europe—"Head-hunting dog-eating wild people from the Philippine Islands."²¹ This memory, in turn, moved U.N. Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo in 1946 to deny them the sympathy accorded their grandparents by Jose Rizal in 1887. "These primitive black people," he said, "are no more Filipinos than the American Indian is representative of the United States citizen."²² Evidently General Romulo's preconception also moved him to ignore the fact that those United States citizens belonged to a different race from the Indians their forebears had dispossessed, while he and the Igorots did not. Perhaps that is why he called them "black."

Meanwhile, between Rizal's and Romulo's time, the preconception developed into a wave migration theory. The idea that Negritos were aboriginal Filipinos driven into the hills by later migrants called indios was as old as the Spanish introduction of the terms. Then in the Bismarck era, Rizal's good friend, Ferdinand Blumentritt, extended the Negrito analogy to the rest of the population: all Filipinos in the interior were driven there by Filipinos on the coast. Thus he divided them into two waves of Malay invaders, and then added a third to account for the Moros. Local variations in culture and physical type he explained as the result of intermarriage, and the extent of intermarriage to resistance and conquest, but he appears not to have considered any movements within the archipelago as due to ecological reasons or normal population growth. The theory was based, not on observed facts, but on a Darwinian preconception of racial competition for survival. Thus the terrace-builders and gold-miners of the northern Luzon Cordillera were considered in some sense inferior to their lowland neighbors.

In 1905, a young American school teacher was stationed in Ifugao who was to become the author of a wave migration theory known to every literate Filipino today—H. Otley Beyer. After an extensive examination of living Philippine cultures and types, he added two waves between Blumentritt's Negritos and Malays—Indonesian Types A and B—and assigned each one a date to produce an imaginary chronology of migratory invasions for the official Census of 1918. Then in 1921, he became the Father of Philippine Archaeology with the discovery of Stone Age sites in Novaliches, and during another quarter century of excavations, assigned every bone or artifact recovered to one of his theoretical migrations. In this

way, he was able to create what eulogist Frank Lynch called "grand and vulnerable syntheses"²³ which, popularized in picture book and college text alike have become gospel in the Philippine educational system.

There are problems, however, with accepting the wave migration theory as part of Philippine history. The most obvious is that it is, after all, simply a theory, speculative rather than factual, a hypothesis to be tested. Its separate waves were formulated by a consideration of living populations, though there is no way of knowing what tools, crops, skills and customs their migrating ancestors brought with them, much less that they arrived in a graduated sequence from primitive to advanced. Stone tools do not reveal the skin color or skull shape of the men who made them, nor Chinese porcelains the nationality of the ships that delivered them. And the statements that Mid-Pleistocene inhabitants were "thickly haired," as one textbook has it,²⁴ or that people with thick lips and large noses entered the archipelago "in or about 1,500 B.C." are pure fantasy.²⁵

A more serious problem is that the theory ignores the fact that cultures change. Headhunting may be taken as a case in point. Blumentritt thought that the first wave of Malays took heads but not the second, but the question is not one which could have been settled by observing the customs of their descendants in 1880. Headtaking societies that give up the practice quickly forget it. In Han-Dynasty China, the word for a grade in rank was *chi*, which meant a severed head, and in medieval Ireland, Celtic clansmen were taking heads long after the Christian conversion. In the lowland Philippines, a Franciscan friar—probably Father Plasencia himself—wrote of the Tagalogs that "at the death of any chief, they had to cut off many heads in order to avenge his death,"²⁶ and Father Benavides, founder of the University of Santo Tomas, informed the Pope that the people of Pangasinan were "an unconquered tribe whose fiestas were cutting off one another's heads."²⁷ Moreover, some societies remove heads from corpses as a form of reverence for heroes and ancestors. So the skulls of some skeletons recovered from Calatagan graves had been dissarticulated prior to burial, and Juan Salcedo's Ilocano companions retained his head when the body was sent to Manila for burial.

At any event, the Bontoc culture exhibited in Madrid and St. Louis was developed in the Philippines, not imported from abroad three thousand years before. Similarly, Jose Rizal and Carlos Romulo

grew up in a colonial culture which didn't exist when Legazpi landed in Manila, and they studied lessons in languages which didn't exist when their ancestors first cut into the virgin Philippine rain forest. We do not know much about that primordial proto-Tagalog culture, but we can describe the one the Spaniards found on their arrival in considerable detail from contemporary accounts and early dictionaries. It was a culture in which both Rizal and Romulo would have felt like foreigners.

Sixteenth-century Tagalog farmers grew rice both in swiddens and irrigated fields, and knew neither draft animals, plows nor wheeled vehicles. Cloth was woven on backstrap looms; pottery was made by the paddle-and-anvil technique and fired in the open air with rice straw; and iron was worked with a two-piston Malay forge and stone mauls. Sugarcane juice was extracted, not for sugar but for wine, with a two-pole press operated like a pump handle, and reduced to alcohol in a still made from a hollow tree trunk, and sipped through reed straws. Boards were adzed to size in the forest, not sawed, and mortised together without nails, and boats were constructed of carved planks sewn together. Chinese porcelains were esteemed as heirloom wealth, and bronze gongs played either with the naked palms or a drumstick to accompany dances in which both men and women danced with outstretched arms without touching their partners.

Men wore G-strings with the longer flap hanging behind (so Spaniards quipped, "Don't get your tail wet"), highly decorated or silk in the case of the elite. They filed and blackened their teeth and pegged them with gold, and wore earrings heavy enough to distend their earlobes to the shoulder. Everybody chewed betelnut, and lovers exchanged quids partly masticated, and serenaded with nose flutes. Men who had killed somebody were privileged to wear red headbands, and those sworn to do so put a tuft of feathers in their hair and a rawhide collar around their neck. Victors came back singing *tagumpay* and displayed enemy heads on poles, but expeditions were cancelled if the *tigmamanukin* omen bird flew across the trail from left to right.

Members of the *maginoo* class practiced secondary burial. After the body had been buried long enough to decompose, the bones were disinterred, given a ritual cleansing and placed in a porcelain jar, to be kept in the family or inserted in the hollow of a *balete* tree. During burial, mourners at the graveside threw a handful of soil on the

deceased and said, "*Dumamay sa iyo ang sakit ko*—May my sorrow end together with you," and then took a bath before returning home. During the wake, the cadaver was displayed embalmed and unshrouded, dressed as in life, until it putrefied. "Although it smells bad," Father San Buenaventura said, "they suffer it for love."²⁸

This is the technology and these are the customs presumably representative of the wave of migrants Blumentritt and Beyer considered superior to all the others, the one that drove all its predecessors into the hills. But to a contemporary ethnographer, it would sound more like the traditional cultures of highland Filipinos in Mindanao and northern Luzon. The fact that Tagalogs are so different from Bontocs and Bukidnons today is therefore more readily explained by historic developments in the past three centuries than by population movements in the preceding three millennia. That is why Tagalogs arguing for the adoption of their cradle tongue as the national language, do so on the grounds of Philippine conditions in the 1990's, not in their migratory past.

Finally, the most serious problem with the wave migration theory is simply that it is 50 years out of date. A half century of scientific research by archaeologists, anthropologists, geologists and linguists has produced a wealth of data unavailable when that grand synthesis was created before the War. The synthesis is therefore accepted by no Philippine anthropologist today: the hypothesis has been tested and found wanting. When a *festschrift* was presented in honor of Beyer's 82nd birthday in 1965, contributions on prehistory were delicately listed under "Rethinking the writings of H. Otley Beyer," and when the ten-volume *Filipino Heritage* published the findings of the leading Philippine scholars in 1977, wave migrations were conspicuously absent from the heritage. The theory appears in no publications by the National Museum or in any scientific texts, least of all in definitive landmarks like prehistorian Peter Bellwood's 1979 *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* or 1986 *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*. This silence is eloquent: probably the only place where the theory can be found is in the Philippine school system.

It is a fond adage of historians that a people without a history is a people without a soul. So nation-building Filipinos eagerly search for their roots. It is a search which must be taken with disciplined care, however, eschewing all grandiose fantasies, because the facts

are so few. But despite the sparsity of the record, it can be stated that neither history nor prehistory suggests a succession of predatory hordes battling for possession of tropical rain forests. Rather, it suggests a vigorous and mobile population adjusting to every environment in the archipelago, creatively producing local variations in response to resources, opportunities and culture contacts, able to trade and raid, feed and defend themselves. The facts stand in sharp contrast to the passive Philippine population depicted in grade school texts, a kind of formless cultural clay ready to be stamped with patterns introduced from abroad. The history student with such preconceptions will not likely discover the prehispanic Filipino.

NOTES

¹Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1483-1898*, vol. 7 (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 174-175.

²Juan de Plasencia, "Relación de las costumbres que los yndios solían tener en estas yslas," *Archivo General de Indias* (Seville), Filipinas 18-B, fol. 23v.

³Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de Lengua tagala* (Pila, 1613), entry at *Libertad: camaharlican*.

⁴Clements Markham, *Early Spanish Voyage to the Strait of Magellan* (London, 1911), p. 36.

⁵Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierrafirme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1601), vol. 2, p. 277.

⁶Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV*, vol. 5 (Madrid, 1837), p. 480.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁸Isacio Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, vol. 14 (Manila, 1978), p. 20.

⁹Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, p. 49.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 37, p. 99.

¹¹Baltazar de Santa Cruz, *Tomo segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón, y China del sagrado Orden de Predicadores* (Zaragoza, 1693), vol. 2, p. 256.

¹²Blair and Robertson, vol. 5, Spanish text on p. 120.

¹³*Ibid.*, vol. 33, p. 126.

¹⁴Rodríguez, *Historia*, vol. 14, p. 479.

¹⁵Rodrigo Aganduru Móriz, "Historia general de las Islas occidentales a la Asia adyacentes llamadas Philipinas," *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. 77 (Madrid, 1882), pp. 452-453.

¹⁶Rodríguez, *Historia*, vol. 14, p. 484.

¹⁷*De Reis om de Wereld door Olivier van Noort 1599-1601* (1602: 's-Gravenhage, 1926), p. 93. I am indebted to Paul Valentine for the translation from Dutch.

¹⁸San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, entry at *Limarse: alal*.

¹⁹Juan José Noceda and Pedro de Senlucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua tagala* (1753; Manila, 1860), introduction (unpag.).

²⁰William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots* (Quezon City, 1974), pp. 276-278.

²¹*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 November 1905.

²²Carlos P. Romulo, *Mother America: A Living Story of Democracy* (Garden City, 1946), p. 59.

²³Frank Lynch, "Henry Otley Beyer 1883-1966," *Philippine Studies*, 15 (1967):7.

²⁴Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (Manila, 1957), vol. 1, p. 21.

²⁵Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *A Short History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City, 1960), p. 19.

²⁶*Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, ca. 1588 (title page missing), fol. 2.

²⁷Diego de Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Filipinas, Japón y China* (Manila, 1640; Madrid, 1962), vol. 1, p. 131.

²⁸San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario*, see especially entries at *Ave: tigmamanucqin; Buyo: sapa; Cantar: tagumpay; Cola: palavit; Colgar: bayobay; Collar: balata; Difuncto: borol; Entierro: baon; Flauta: bangsintavo; Huesos: bangcay; and Orejas: lambing.*

DEMYTHOLOGIZING THE PAPAL BULL "INTER CAETERA"

In the Philippine school system, Spanish *conquistadors* are usually introduced onto the stage of Philippine history following a curtain-raiser called "*Inter Caetera*." This is presented as a papal bull in which Alexander VI divides the world into two open hunting grounds for the conquest of non-Christian peoples by two competing Iberian monarchies—or, as professional historians are aware, two papal bulls or perhaps two versions of the same bull, one dated 3 May 1493 and the other May 4th. The prominent place given the bull in standard history texts presupposes that it played some significant part in history, that it was obeyed by monarchs and therefore affected the course of events. This presumption, in turn, is part of a larger one—namely, the concept that European monarchs were truthful, law-abiding members of a civilized Christendom who respected international treaties, held legal systems inviolable, and valued allegiance to popes more highly than national interests.

In fact, no such international scruples or papal hegemony existed. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V sent an expedition to the Philippines two years after he had sold all claim to the islands to the Portuguese crown, and when his son Philip actually occupied the archipelago, he did so not because any pope gave him permission but because the Portuguese could not prevent it. The two bulls themselves carry deliberately falsified dates, and one of them isn't really a bull at all but a top secret apostolic brief. These errors would be the sort of trivia which interest nobody but historiographers were they not found in the very cradle of Filipino historical consciousness. There, they inevitably distort the student's developing view of the world by projecting images which are sheer illusions. The raw facts might better prepare him to understand his people's involvement in the true events and real forces of world history—past, present and future.

The facts have been available since 1944 when Manuel Giménez Fernández published a meticulous study, "*Nuevas consideraciones*

sobre la historia y sentido de las letras alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias (New considerations about the history and sense of the Alexandrine letters of 1493 in reference to the Indies)" in the *Seville Anuario de Estudios Americanos*.¹ The new considerations were based on a careful collation of the correspondence which passed between Rome and the Spanish court in connection with the bull, much of it previously unknown or ignored, in remote archives and Vatican registers. The habit of Vatican clerks of jotting down the dates when they entered authenticated documents, for example, or the fact that secretarial signatures changed every trimester, makes it possible to establish the true dates of the *Inter Caetera*. Details like the length of time it took royal mail to be delivered were also essential for reconstructing the story—12 days between Barcelona and Seville, for instance, or 10 days by special delivery costing 30 ducats, and five days to Rome if some Mediterranean corsair happened to be available. To review the full display of this correspondence in chronological sequence reveals a diplomatic drama playacted by two machiavellian protagonists pursuing personal interests. If good theater calls for romance, suspense and character flaws in high places, *Inter Caetera* was high drama indeed.

The story really begins with an earlier *Inter Caetera* which had been granted Portugal in 1456 by Alexander VI's uncle, Pope Calixto III, the latest of a series of bulls which gave papal blessing to the simple political fact that Portugal was preeminent in navigational progress. It sanctified Portuguese exploration and occupation of islands and ports down the African coast "as far as the Indies" (*usque ad Indos*)—that is, Asia—and threatened any challengers with excommunication. Similarly, after the 1479 Treaty of Alcazobas ended Spain's unsuccessful attempt to do so, Sixto IV's *Aeterni Regis* of 1481 granted what had already been decided by naval artillery—Portuguese occupation of Atlantic islands like the Azores, Madeiras and Cape Verdes—and sanctioned all future such discoveries "in the Ocean Seas" (*in mari oceano*), the waters believed to surround the Eurasian land mass. The question of eastern and western routes had not yet become an issue: European cosmographers, unaware of the existence of the American continents, did not doubt that the same waters washed the eastern shores of Asia and the west coast of Europe. Thus when Ferdinand V sent Columbus into those waters to reach the Indies, he was breaking the oath he had sworn at Alcazobas and defying papal excommunication.

On 17 April 1492, Christopher Columbus signed a commercial contract with *los Reyes Catolicos* Ferdinand and Isabel, driving a hard bargain. He demanded the title of Admiral of the lands and waters to be discovered, together with the privileges traditionally reserved to the Enríquez family of Castile (Ferdinand's maternal kin), and the office of viceroy for himself and his heirs; ten percent of the profits to be realized off any pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices or other goods acquired; and the right to invest one eighth the initial capital with a corresponding portion of the interest accruing. Nothing was said about any missionary motives nor did the expedition carry a chaplain, though six of the ten "Indian" youths brought back were baptized in Spain. Columbus also brought back the businesslike suggestion that, in the disappointing absence of any new gold mines, a slave trade might be instituted. The pious Queen Isabel sent the boys back to their homeland, however, and on her deathbed added a codicil to her will disallowing any such traffic to her heirs.

Columbus returned from what he thought until his dying day were the offshore islands of Japan and the Khanate of Cathay on 4 March 1493, and anchored in the Tagus River off Lisbon. He announced his presence to Portuguese King John II, who told him that his discoveries obviously belonged to Portugal by virtue of the Treaty of Alcazobas and the bull *Aeterni Regis*, which Columbus reported to Ferdinand in Barcelona by sea mail from Palos. Then he proceeded up the Guadalquivir River to Seville to await instructions from Ferdinand, which soon arrived telling him to come as quickly as possible but to start preparations for the return voyage before he left. Ferdinand then instructed his procurators in Rome, Bishops Bernardino López de Carvajal and Juan Ruiz de Medina, to start working for papal favors to remove the threat of excommunication posed by *Aeterni Regis* and recognize Spain's rights to the new discoveries, whatever and wherever they might be. The procurators responded with a request for more details, but of course Ferdinand didn't know what to tell them until he talked to Columbus. So he instructed them to keep the proceedings secret and by all means forestall the departure of the congratulatory embassy the Pope proposed sending.

As it happened, the Pope was just at that moment in need of favors himself. Born a Spaniard—Rodrigo Lanzol y Borja (Borgia)—he was already beholden to the Spanish crown for his 16-year-old

son Cesare's appointment as Archbishop of Valencia. Now he was trying to carve out an Italian fief for his eldest son Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, and had just annulled his daughter Lucrezia's marriage to her Spanish husband to make a better match with Milanese Giovanni de Pesaro of the Sforza family. His main opponent was Ferrante of Naples, Ferdinand's cousin and brother-in-law. In hopes of obtaining Ferdinand's neutrality, he had proposed Giovanni's marriage to his half-brother Pier Luigi's widow, Ferdinand's cousin Maria Enriquez. But in March, Ferrante kept writing Ferdinand about Alexander's pretensions in harsh terms, so on the 20th Juan López of the papal cabinet wrote a defense of the Pope to his uncle Enrique Enríquez, elder brother of Ferdinand's mother. López was also a Spaniard, a close confidant of the Pope, and the Vatican *datario*, or "dispatcher" who officially signed and dated all papal privileges. His letter included the request that, "since His Holiness had decided on the departure of the Illustrious Duke of Gandia, your son (son-in-law), your lordship try to have him received, treated and benefited by their Highnesses as he who sends him is expecting and as he merits; and I am your lordships' to order and command." And he closed, "Whatever your lordship orders will be done."²

Juan López's letter must have reached Barcelona in the middle of April, and so did Columbus, for Ferdinand's formal petition for papal favor was dated on the 18th. Alexander's response was the document whose opening two words were *Inter Caetera* dated May 3, but actually already copied into the archival *Regesta Vaticana* before the end of April. It was produced by first papal secretary Ludovicus Podocatharus, chief of the papal cabinet (*Camara Apostolica*), and was an apostolic letter, not a papal bull, and so did not pass through the public chancery (*Cancellaria Apostolica*): it was referred to as one of three letters (*tertium breve*) when it was sent to Ambassador Francisco de Spratz in Barcelona on May 18 for delivery to the King. It was also top secret: nobody handled it but members of the Pope's private staff; and a reason is not hard to surmise. The most powerful cardinal in the chancery was Portuguese Jorge de Costa, King John's personal agent and the *papabile* whom Rodrigo Borgia outbid during the simoniacal election of August 1492. It was dispatched a few days after license arrived in Rome for the corsair Bernardo de Villamarín to fetch bridegroom Giovanni, surely no coincidence. But Bernardo himself did not appear—"The noble Duke of Gandia, our beloved son," the Pope told Spratz, "is constantly

waiting for him"³—and the wedding did not actually take place until August, a delay perhaps reflecting royal displeasure with the first version of the *Inter Caetera*.

This original *Inter Caetera* had still not reached Barcelona when Portuguese ambassador Ruy de Sande arrived in the middle of May with claims to the Indies which Ferdinand could not refute. When another week passed with no word from Rome, he decided he could wait no longer. Accordingly, on May 23 he signed a dozen dispatches to prepare a second expedition, "both to rule and possess the said islands and continent which are in the Ocean Sea in the region of the Indies, of which possession has been taken in our name, and to discover others." Five days later he reconfirmed Columbus' titles with definition of where they were to hold force: "We have drawn a boundary which passes from the islands of the Azores to those of Cape Verde, north to south from pole to pole, such that everything which is found to the west of the said line is ours and belongs to us."⁴ Then, lest there be any doubt about his authority, he had canonist Rodrigo Maldonado add a preamble which expounded his Divine Rights:

Naturally, wise men have said that kings are the head of the realm . . . and so great is the said power of kings that they hold all laws and rights of their own authority, because they receive this not from men but from God, whose place they take in temporal affairs.⁵

Armed with these heady documents, Columbus left for Seville on May 28th. But that night a royal courier overtook him, probably in Lerida, with an urgent letter from the King: the long-awaited document had arrived after Columbus' departure, and he was enclosing a translation. The Pope says he had learned that the Spanish monarchs, out of personal zeal to extend the Catholic faith to remote lands, sent Columbus sailing into the Ocean Sea "through western waters towards the Indies," where he discovered certain unknown lands and islands. Therefore, to encourage an enterprise "so pleasing to immortal God, the Pope is hereby granting them those lands and ordering them to send missionaries out to convert their inhabitants. The pertinent passage reads as follows:

In order that with greater readiness and heartiness you enter

upon an undertaking of so lofty a character as has been entrusted to you by the graciousness of our apostolic favor, we, moved thereunto by our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but of our own sole largesse and certain knowledge as well as in the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents give, grant, and assign forever to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, all and singular, the aforesaid countries and islands thus unknown and hitherto discovered by your envoys and to be discovered hereafter, providing however they at no time have been in the actual temporal possession of any Christian owner, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and towns as well as all rights, jurisdiction, and appurtenances of the same wherever they may be found. Moreover we invest you and your aforementioned heirs and successors with them, and make, appoint, and depute you owners of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind, with this proviso, however, that by this gift, grant, assignment, and investiture of ours no right conferred on any Christian prince is hereby to be understood as withdrawn. Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience, that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you promise—nor do we doubt your compliance therewith to the best of your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit—you send to the aforesaid countries and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and dwellers therein in the Catholic faith, and train them in good morals.⁶

The document as received was unacceptable to Ferdinand for two reasons. In the first place, it was a private communication, not a public proclamation; and in the second, it neither defined the territory to which he could lay claim with papal sanction nor delimited Portugal's. He had already made his own solution to this latter problem by drawing that dividing line down the middle of the Ocean Sea, though drawing it through the Azores was a bit of a blunder. King John was claiming that the new discoveries actually lay in the far western Azores, and Columbus had stubbornly refused

to divulge the true distance, even to Ferdinand. Moreover, Portugal had fought for those islands in 1479 and might be prepared to do so again. Columbus realized all this and, therefore, studying the *Inter Caetera* carefully that night, he drew up a new line 100 leagues to the west of the Azores, and sent it back to Ferdinand the next day. Meanwhile, that masterful hyperbole about Ferdinand's missionary zeal suggested a new course of action, and the king "obeyed" immediately. That same day he chose one of his faithful agents, Fray Bernal Boil, to organize a mission.

On June 2nd he sent special ambassador Diego López de Haro to Rome with a letter announcing a mission, and on June 8th he ordered the Benedictines of Monserrat to provide a replacement for Fray Bernal as vicar of the religious of San Francisco de Paul in Barcelona. On the same date he dispatched the Latin outline of what would become the papal bull *Piis Fidelium* of June 25, which licensed the missionaries and authorized Ferdinand to select them. López de Haro arrived on the 12th just in time for Lucrezia Borgia's wedding with Giovanni Sforza, following which he had a private interview with the Pope and brusquely announced Ferdinand's solidarity with his cousin Ferrante. (Alexander immediately began negotiations for a match between his son Giuffrè and Ferrante's granddaughter Sancha de Aragon.) On the 19th, Procurator Carvajal delivered a pompous Latin discourse at a public reception in the Vatican, giving equal praise to the private and public virtues of the Pope and to the loyalty, submission and devotion of the Spanish monarchs whose Christian zeal had led to the discovery of new lands which would soon believe in Christ, "thanks to the royal envoys who are just on the point of departing for them."⁷ The *Inter Caetera* was revised in accordance with Spanish requirements the next week, signed and sealed as a papal bull on June 28, but dated "May 4." But it did not reach Barcelona until August 3, when it was delivered together with other wedding gifts befitting a Renaissance prince by Giovanni Borgia, Duke of Gandia.

The original *Inter Caetera* disappeared into the Archives of the Indies in Simancas, where it remained unknown until Guillermo Berchet published a copy from the *Regesta Vaticana* in his 1892 *Raccolta dei Fonti italiane de la Scoperta del Nuovo Mondo* (Collection of Italian Sources on the Discovery of the New World). But it is repeated verbatim in the revised version with three changes. One of these is the insertion—presumably by Columbus himself—of a

reference to him as "a man assuredly worthy and of the highest recommendations," and another is the removal—probably by Jurist Rodrigo Maldonado—of the feudal-sounding expression, "We invest you and your aforementioned heirs." The significant change, of course, is the addition of the so-called Papal Line of Demarcation, not once but twice, the second time in the following provocative passage:

Under penalty of excommunication *late sententie* to be incurred *ipso facto*, should any one thus contravene, we strictly forbid all persons of whatsoever ranks, even imperial and royal, or of whatsoever estate, degree, order or condition, to dare, without your special permit or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go, as charged, for the purpose of trade or any other reason to the islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, no matter whether the mainlands and islands found and to be found lie in the direction of India or towards any other quarter whatsoever, the said line to the west and south to be distant one hundred leagues from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cabo Verde, the apostolic constitutions and ordinances and other decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.⁸

This, then, is the document which is the object of the myth which appears in Philippine history texts that the papal bull *Inter Caetera* was promulgated by a disinterested Christian arbiter to prevent war between Spain and Portugal. The fact is that, far from preventing war, *Inter Caetera* abrogated a treaty which had already ended one. That another war was avoided after Columbus left on his second voyage was due to pragmatic compromise between the two states involved, not by arbitration by any third party. The Treaty of Tordesillas signed on 7 June 1494 moved Columbus' line of demarcation 270 leagues farther west, thus preserving to Spain her new discoveries while guaranteeing to Portugal control of the Atlantic islands flanking her sea route to India. And the treaty contained a specific clause rejecting any appeal to Rome—namely, that after swearing the oath, neither party would seek "absolution or relaxation of it from our very holy Father, or from any other Legate or

Prelate who could give it, nor to make use of it if they give it of their own volition."⁹

NOTES

¹This article is based on Manuel Giménez Fernández's "Nuevas consideraciones sobre la historia y sentido de las letras alejandrines de 1493 referentes a las Indias," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (1944).

²Giménez, p. 241.

³Ibid., p. 247.

⁴Ibid., p. 86.

⁵Ibid., p. 87.

⁶Translations by Thomas Cooke Middleton, in Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-898*, vol. 1 (Cleveland, 1903), pp. 100-101.

⁷Giménez, p. 96.

⁸Blair and Robertson, p. 110.

⁹Giménez, p. 294.

THE MEDITERRANEAN CONNECTION

When Magellan's ships and survivors left Philippine waters in 1521 following his death in Mactan, they proceeded to Borneo where, at the mouth of Brunei Bay, they seized a ship commanded by a Filipino prince who 50 years later would be known as Rajah Matanda. He was quietly released after bribing the Spanish commander, but 17 others of his company were retained for their value as guides, pilots or interpreters—or, in the case of three females, for other virtues. One of these was a slave who could speak Spanish—or, more accurately, "a Moor who understood something of our Castillian language, who was called Pazeculan."¹ A later account identifies this slave as a pilot and a Makassarese, who "after having been captured and passed from one master to another, had wound up in the service of the prince of Luzon."² His special linguistic proficiency may have been the result of the vicissitudes of his captivity, and so may his faith since Makassar did not adopt Islam until the next century. Similarly, a Portuguese-speaking negro the Spaniards met in Palawan had been baptized Bastian in the Moluccas.³

Slaves were regularly employed as translators in international trade. When Joao de Barros, the great Portuguese historian of Southeast Asia, purchased some Chinese maps in 1540, he also purchased a Chinese to translate them. Magellan himself left Spain on his famous voyage with two slave interpreters—Arabic-speaking Jorge and Malay-speaking Enrique. Jorge presumably also understood Persian since he was able to communicate with one Calin of Bachian in the Moluccas who spoke that language.⁴ Magellan could have acquired him himself during the Moroccan campaign of 1513-1514, or he might have bought him in the Seville slave markets in Calle de las Gradass, Calle de Bayona or the Plaza de San Francisco. Enrique he purchased in Malacca—at the age of 13, one account says—for which reason he was listed as Enrique de Malacca in the ship's register of Magellan's flagship, though he was actually a native of Sumatra, homeland of the Malay language. Malay was a trade language of Southeast Asian ports at the time: it was under-

stood by Rajah Kolambu of Limasawa (who was actually from Butuan) and his boatmen, as well as Rajah Sarripada Humabon of Cebu. Expeditionary ethnographer Antonio Pigafetta commented of their ability to understand Enrique, "In these parts, kings know more languages than the others."⁵

After seizing the people from the Luzon ship, the Spaniards continued on to the Spice Islands, and there they encountered Uzman of Tidore who also knew Spanish.⁶ These evidences of the language of Cervantes in the farthest corner of the world from Spain must come as a considerable surprise to the modern history student. The grandeur of the circumnavigation of the world and the drama of Magellan's appearance in the Philippines predispose us to think of Spanish as a kind of transpacific import, and the romance and reality of the Manila galleon trade makes us forget that the spice trade which attracted Columbus into the Atlantic and Magellan into the Pacific began just south of the Philippines, and had been reaching Europe for centuries across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The profits of this trade were naturally highest at its western end, where they were being enjoyed during the 16th century by Turkish, Egyptian, Tunisian and Italian middlemen—to say nothing of expatriate Spanish Muslims. The phenomenon of the Spanish-speaking slave may therefore be best understood by a consideration of this Mediterranean connection.

A modern inclination to exaggerate the problem of language barriers no doubt adds to our surprise. The mere fact that Henry of Malacca was understood by Visayan Filipinos has suggested to some Philippine historians that he must have been a Visayan himself, while there are others who have tried to explain initial Filipino hostility to Spanish aggression as a simple communications failure. Great medieval travelers like Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, however, left accounts of crossing half the countries of Eurasia without finding the problem worthy of comment. Indeed, true love of profit would seem to surmount any cultural barriers. Nicolo de Conti left Venice on business in 1419, crossed Syria, Iraq, Persia, India and Ceylon and got as far east as Sumatra; 25 years later he returned through the Red Sea and Egypt with an Indian wife and family, and sought the Pope's absolution for having abjured his faith in Jiddah.⁷ And in 1505, Ludovico de Varthema of Bologna also reached Sumatra, having become a Muslim and picked up a Persian partner and two Chinese Christian companions on the way: one would wonder what language

they used to hire ships complete with captain and crews in Malacca, Atjeh and Borneo.⁸

Another stumbling block to understanding the Mediterranean connection is the false dichotomy between the terms "Spanish" and "Muslim" (or "Moro") which has been engendered by three centuries of colonial history. The former term, after all, pertains to a nationality or language, while the latter pertains to a religion; they are therefore not alternates to one another. When Columbus was born, part of Spain was still ruled by Muslims (he himself was present at their final defeat in the siege of Granada), but Spain's indigenous population was "Spanish" no matter who ruled them or whatever faith they professed. Traditional histories, whether written in Spanish or Arabic, do not distinguish Moros from Spaniards, but from Christians.

This indigenous Spanish population did not, of course, disappear with the Arab and Berber invasions of the eighth century; rather, they became Muslims, learned Arabic, and constituted the major population of the caliphates and Muslim kingdoms which ruled most of the Peninsula for 800 years. Their epic hero was called El Cid after an Arabic title, *sayyid*, and he presumably used that language when he swore allegiance to Emir Moktadir of Zaragoza. But the Spanish language—or, better said, the language which would become Spanish—survived in Andalusian market places, and its advantages produced *moros latinados* ("Latinized Moors") whose business acumen has given the modern word *ladino* a connotation of sly or cunning.

Eventually, the reconquest of Muslim territory by revitalized Christian kingdoms gave a new incentive for changing language and faith. Arab-speaking Spaniards were baptized and the sort of pidgin Spanish they spoke—and wrote in the Arabic alphabet—was called *aljamia* (from an Arabic word meaning "non-Arabic"). The language scene at the end of the 16th century may be illustrated by a contemporary reference to some Spaniards who "grew up in little hamlets where *aljamia* was never spoken, nor was there anybody who understood it except the parish priest or curate or sacristan; and these always spoke in Arabic."⁹

During the long Muslim occupation, tens of thousands of Spanish Muslims migrated to the Mediterranean coast of Africa, mainly to escape persecution following political reversals. Whole populations fled to Morocco and Egypt following an unsuccessful

Cordoban uprising in 814, and to Tunis following the fall of Seville in 1248 in such numbers that the city was said to be largely populated by Sevillians. These Spanish Tunisians constituted an educated and skilled elite that was credited with the two or three centuries of prosperity which Tunis enjoyed off a trade which extended from Portugal to India and included Italian maritime republics like Pisa and Genoa in between.¹⁰ The final Spanish exodus was touched off by the fall of Granada and the capture of Melilla in Morocco in 1492, which opened a century of Muslim expulsions or enforced conversions to Christianity. It was this diaspora, no doubt, which accounts for the Spanish speech which the Portuguese heard in the Indian Ocean, not from the lips of slave interpreters but from men of considerable social stature. When they bombarded Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf to cut one of the Arab links in the Mediterranean connection, one of the emissaries who came to sue for peace was a Spanish Muslim—"a native of the Kingdom of Granada by the name of Abadala, who spoke good Castillian."¹¹

As a matter of fact, the first person Vasco da Gama met on his arrival in India in 1498 addressed him in Spanish. As official chronicler Damião de Góis describes the contact:

On boarding the ship, he said in Castillian in a loud voice, "Welcome to you all: give thanks to God that he has brought you to the richest land in the world, in which you will find every kind of merchandise you could desire or imagine!" Vasco de Gama embraced him, asking him most joyfully where he was from; Monzaide told him from Tunis, and that since the time when King Don Juan II used to send ships to Oran to get things he needed for his naval stores, he was familiar with the Portuguese and was always very friendly with them, and so in every way he could serve King Dom Manuel in that land, he would do it if they wished to employ him for it, to which Vasco da Gama gave him thanks with the promise of paying him well for his troubles.¹²

History texts are usually written in terms of wars and crusades fought by specific nations and empires, and so little prepare us to recognize those driving economic forces which know no nationality, language or religion. Nonetheless, there will be modern Filipino students who understand the readiness with which the men who

constituted the Mediterranean connection sold their services to the highest bidders. Vasco da Gama had actually been guided to India by the leading authority of Indian Ocean navigation of his day, the Arab pilot Ahmad ibn Majid, whom he hired in Malindi over his ruler's protests, and when he went home, the effusive Monzaide went with him, becoming a Christian to do so. So did the well-traveled Gaspar das Indias in Calicut, whom the King of Portugal described on his arrival as "a Jew turned Christian, a man of great discretion and energy, born in Alexandria, a great merchant and lapidary who had been trading in India for 30 years."¹³

When Vasco da Gama returned to Calicut four years later with 14 heavily armed men-o-war, that globe-trotting Muslim convert and itinerant merchant, Haji Ludovico Varthema, quickly reverted to his former faith and fought on the Portuguese side in the battle of Cananor in 1506. Ferdinand Magellan was wounded during this battle but saved the life of his good friend (or cousin?) Francisco Serrão, who later went to serve Sultan Cachil Boleife of Ternate—and left 35 tons of cloves and two *mestizo* children when he died.¹⁴ Spaniards coasting down Mindanao in 1521 met a native vessel whose captain had been in his house in the Moluccas.

The European end of this commerce was in the hands of Venetians: it was their galleys which fetched the Oriental goods from Egypt and Syria, giving them a virtual monopoly on the sale of spices into European markets. Thanks to this strange ecumenism, Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola was able to communicate with his missionaries in India through Venetian ambassadors to Muslim states—monthly from Cairo and every three months for Aleppo.¹⁵ The extent and speed of information passing from one end of this network to the other is noteworthy. Scarcely a decade after the Portuguese first set foot on the coast of Brazil, they acquired a Javanese map in Malacca which showed that American landfall.¹⁶ Conversely, Portuguese cartographers were quickly able to indicate Asian points which Portuguese explorers had not yet seen. An unsigned chart presumably by Pedro Reinal (who supplied Magellan with maps and a globe before he left Seville), drawn before Borneo and the Philippines were reached, shows, in addition to known ports along the Indonesian archipelago from Sumatra to the Moluccas, the sketchy outlines of the Chinese coast and, to the east, a group of islands south of the Tropic of Cancer and a larger one just north of it.¹⁷ The Tropic of Cancer actually passes through the large island of

Taiwan, and the Philippines, of course, lie to the south of it.

Missionary complaints reveal the extent of this cooperation between people who appear in standard histories as sworn enemies. Writing from Malacca in 1556, Jesuit Baltazar Diaz labels the passage of Muslim teachers "under the pretense of their being merchants" in Portuguese ships "one of the gravest offenses that could be offered God our Lord," and recounts a personal experience. In the ship in which he came from India, one of his fellow passengers was a Moro, "proclaiming himself a relative of Muhammad," who was on his way to Borneo to join a companion who "has already made Moros of the major part of that paganism."¹⁸ His confrere Nicolas Lancelot is so exercised about the "contracting and mixed commerce with all kinds of infidels, enemies of the Cross and the law of all truth," that he frets about what penance he should assign confessing Christians who participate in it. "They sell horses from Arabia and Persia," he writes in an especially revealing passage, "which are sold in such numbers every year that the customs duties from horses alone produce 40,000 cruzados for the King of Portugal, and the dealers of these horses are Portuguese and Moros."¹⁹ Ten years earlier, Father Miguel Vaz complained to the King about the Portuguese slave trade in India: he didn't want Christian dealers to sell their merchandise to Muslim or Hindu customers.²⁰

Without such cooperation, however, the Portuguese would never have been able to capture, hold or exploit the great Southeast Asian emporium of Malacca. The popular image of their blasting their way into that port with heavy-caliber naval artillery to introduce the novelty of European capitalism is rather a caricature of the facts. Magellan was wounded again during Affonso Albuquerque's unsuccessful first attack in July of 1511, but a week later, local merchants eager to get on with business provided two men to breach the fortifications, and then outfitted a large junk to fetch the Indonesian spices that Chinese traders were waiting for. Even before the battle, a Javanese businessman by the name of Utimaraja presented a fine gift of sandalwood to signify his support,²¹ and Burmese tycoon Nina Chatu turned over a vessel he had constructed for defeated Sultan Mahmud, complete with a mixed Burmese-Malay crew and a pilot whose son spoke Portuguese. Albuquerque immediately started exploring the local rivalry between Hindu Tamils from Coromandel and Muslim Gujaratis from Cambay, and when he returned to India in December with his worm-eaten fleet

(the *Flor de Mar* broke up on the Sumatran coast), he appointed Nina Chatu *bendahara* (prime minister) of the city and wealthy Filipino businessman Regimo Diraja *temenggong* (governor) of the Muslim communities. The next year Nina Chatu and the Portuguese Crown put up the capital, 50-50, to send a heavy-laden merchantman to Pasai and Pegu, with a Muslim captain named Saif ud-Din and two Portuguese inspectors whose detailed logs and cargo registers still exist.²²

As soon as Albuquerque learned the real source of the spices, he dispatched three vessels to buy some and to advertise the presence of new customers, and Malacca captain Nehoda Ismael to Java for the same purpose. Guided by two Malay pilots, they reached Banda and headed back loaded to capacity after purchasing a local junk to replace the unseaworthy Cambay ship Francisco Serrão was commanding. Serrão then proceed to run her onto reefs in the Penju Islands off Sulawesi, but as soon as rival sultans Boleife of Ternate and Almansor of Tidore learned of the presence of these new masters of Malacca, they rushed fleets to rescue them. Nine Ternatan caracoas got there first and took Serrão back to become commanding general of Boleife's forces, where, once established, he wrote Magellan about the wealth and location of the Moluccas.²³ Magellan finally replied from Lisbon that, God willing, he would soon join him there, if not by the Portuguese route, then by the Spanish—that is, by sailing west across the Atlantic.²⁴

Unlike Temenggong Regimo Diraja, some Filipino traders took the wrong side: a colony of 500 at Minjam on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (where the Chinese had noted Mindoro cotton in the 14th century) lost their Malacca trading rights by joining the losing sultan's party.²⁵ Luzon mercenaries also participated in an unsuccessful attempt to retake Malacca in 1525 with the help of Portuguese renegade Martin Avelar: the "captain of the Luções" sailed in the flagship with warriors João de Barros considered "the most warlike and valiant of these parts."²⁶ In 1539 Filipinos formed part of a Batak-Menangkabau army which besieged Atjeh, as well as of the Atjenese fleet which raised the siege under command of Turkish Heredim Mafamede sent out from Suez by his Uncle Suleiman, Baxa-viceoy of Cairo. When this fleet later took Aru on the Straits of Malacca, it contained 4,000 Muslims from Turkey, Abyssinia, Malabar, Gujarat and Luzon, and following his victory, Heredim left a hand-picked garrison there under the command of a

Filipino by the name of Sapetu Diraja.²⁷ All these Filipinos were so closely associated with Borneo that many Portuguese thought they came from there: even that Luzon prince captured in 1521 had just come from a victorious raid as Brunei Rajah Sarripada's captain general. And this Luzon mercenary tradition seems to have survived into fairly modern times: the Dutch had a company of Pampanga Christians in Batavia as late as 1721.²⁸

Pigafetta noted a Luzon vessel loading sandalwood in Timor in 1522, and Fernão Mendes Pinto mentions Mindanao merchants in the Burmese emporium of Martaban in 1547.²⁹ Magellan's and Albuquerque's contemporary, druggist Tome Pires, left a book-length manuscript known as the *Suma Oriental* when he departed with the first Portuguese embassy to China in 1517, in which he says the Luzones trade for the same goods in Malacca as the Borneans and that they are "almost one people." Luzon itself he describes as a source of foodstuff, wax, honey and gold, but, unlike cartographer Francisco Rodriguez, who locates Llouçam on the north coast of Borneo, he knows from native informants that it is another ten days' sail. Significantly, too, he comments when describing the Chinese port of Canton before any Portuguese had seen it, "This the Luções say who have been there."³⁰

The fortunes of the Malacca Filipinos, however, were not based on such petty commerce as the Philippine trade: rather, they came from ship-owning and the underwriting of large-scale export ventures in the China market, even letting out small shares which illiterate Portuguese sailors could afford. The head of this community was Regimo Diraja, who had attracted his fellows from Luzon in the first place, a genuine tycoon who sent junks to Brunei, China, Pasai, Siam and Sunda, and whose widow and father-in-law continued his business following his death in 1513. Another Filipino magnate was Surya Diraja who paid the Portuguese 9,000 cruzadas' worth of gold to retain his plantation and country estate, and annually sent 175 tons of pepper to China; one of his junks sailed in the first Portuguese fleet to pay an official visit to the Chinese Empire.³¹ Considering the high visibility of this Filipino community, one wonders if a sharp-minded adventurer like Magellan could have been unaware of the existence and location of the Philippines. Perhaps the "discovery of the Philippines" was made in Malacca.

Magellan left the Far East in 1513 after lending 110 cruzados to a Portuguese merchant in Goa, to be repaid in pepper in Lisbon at

82 percent interest.³² Back in Portugal, he had a falling out with his king, but until he renounced his citizenship in 1517 and left for Spain—João de Barros says—"he was always hanging around pilots and sea charts."³³ In Seville, he married the sister of the author of the latest travel book on Indian Asia,³⁴ and signed a contract with the Spanish king for 15 percent of the profits to be realized from what turned out to be an unsuccessful attempt to sabotage the Portuguese spice trade. He left Spain with instructions to find a new route to the Spice Islands, discovered the strait which bears his name, and headed across the Pacific on a course of northwest by west. When he came to the equator, he strangely did not veer west in search of the Moluccas he knew to be on that line; rather, he continued on and only changed course when he reached the latitude of Luzon, and then headed direct for the Philippines.³⁵ There, instead of carrying out his orders, he spent six weeks merchandising, baptizing and politicking in Cebu, and died trying to force a beachhead in Mactan. Crewman Ginés de Mafra speculated that this unauthorized behavior was motivated by Magellan's desire to have Cebu as one of two islands to be granted him in perpetuity, "because he had said so many times."³⁶ Perhaps the easiest way to explain this whole scenario is to assume that Magellan knew where he was going and wanted to get there.

The drugs and aromatics which made up the spice trade were mainly carried from their islands of origin by Javanese traders or Buginese from Makassar, to the fiercely competing entrepôts of Malacca and Atjeh, where they joined with the commerce of all Asia. From there they were delivered largely in Atjenese, Arab and Indian bottoms—or occasionally Turkish from Egypt—to the coasts of Africa, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, where they were transshipped by camel train to Mediterranean ports like Alexandria, Beirut, Cairo and Damascus, all under the control of the Egyptian ruler the Portuguese called the Sultan of Babylon. This is the monopoly the Portuguese broke by sailing from India to Europe around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa. The first spices to reach the European market in Flanders completely by sea—and bring almost their weight in gold—were delivered by two Portuguese carracks in 1499. Five years later the Venetian Senate was shocked to have its galleys return from Alexandria empty, no spices having reached that port that year across the Mediterranean connection.³⁷

Establishing a new monopoly to replace the old one, however, required a certain amount of shoot-on-sight contacts at sea, and of destabilizing or overthrowing local governments ashore. These actions were all defended by the Portuguese Crown as a kind of Christian crusade—though not one, evidently, which applied to infidels who did not threaten Portuguese profits, like those Muslim pilots, proprietors, underwriters and business partners in Goa, Malacca and Ternate. Mediterranean investors faced with bankruptcy responded in kind. The Venetians sent four cannon-makers to Calicut in 1505, and in 1508 contributed carpenters, caulkers, artillery and two whole galleys to a fleet sent out by the Sultan of Egypt under the command of his Mameluke governor of Jiddah, which also included Christian mariners from Italy and the Levant, as well as 40 Calicut vessels manned by Hindus from Malabar. A similarly ecumenical armada in 1515 was manned by 700 Egyptian Mamelukes, 300 Turkish Janissaries, a thousand Moors from Granada and Tunis, and 70 Levantine Christians.³⁸

Ottoman Emperor Suleiman the Magnificent conquered Egypt in 1517, so Portugal's Far Eastern competitors started sending embassies direct to Constantinople to solicit military aid. Among these, those from Atjeh had an especially persuasive case: Atjeh, at the northeastern corner of Sumatra, was in a position to cut off Malacca's westbound traffic: indeed, the wars which involved Filipino mercenaries from Luzon were fought for control of the Sumatran shore of the Straits of Malacca. The Portuguese once intercepted a 50-gun Atjenese ship carrying their ambassador with 200,000 cruzados' worth of gold and jewelry for the Emperor; it also carried 500 Atjenese, Arab, Abyssinian and Turkish warriors. Chance references in diplomatic correspondence reveal that Turkish troops and gun-founders left for Atjeh in 1539, and a dozen gunners and military advisers in 1564, while the Portuguese took an Atjenese merchantman in a naval action off Hadramaut in 1562 with 400 "white men" on board. And in the year of Suleiman's death, two Turkish ships arrived with 500 men who included gunners, gun-founders and military engineers. When the Dutch invaded Atjeh four centuries later, they found antiquated cannons of Turkish design in the royal compound.³⁹

But the last hopes for any revival of the Mediterranean connection faded in the face of spreading Mediterranean wars during the second half of the century. In 1568, a rebellion in Granada resulted

in the deportation of more than 50,000 persons—most of them first- and second-generation Christians—and the Spanish occupation of Tunis in 1570. The next year, Don Juan of Austria, son of Holy Emperor Charles V, defeated the Turkish fleet in the battle of Lepanto, following which Turkey got increasingly embroiled in wars on two fronts in the Balkans and Persia. Perhaps it was these unsettled conditions which sent more Mediterranean Muslims to Southeast Asia, where Manila Oidor Melchor Dávalos could report in 1585 that Turks were coming to Sumatra, Borneo and Ternate every year, including defeated veterans from Lepanto.⁴⁰

Finally, we may consider the view from Manila. Following the union of the Spanish and the Portuguese crowns in 1581, the Portuguese in the Moluccas requested aid to put down a rebellion which had seized their fort in Ternate. Governor Santiago de Vera mounted an expedition which, on arrival in the Moluccas, found not only Ternatans but 2,500 Arabs, Javanese and lascars (East India seamen), and a Portuguese commander who wasn't interested in any military action that would interfere with business. Nonetheless, following unsuccessful negotiations conducted through a Muslim "bishop" from Mecca, the fort was besieged and surrendered. But the Ternatan, Javanese, Chinese and Malay merchants inside would not vacate until they were guaranteed the value of their goods, so in the end half the fort's cannons were turned over to the Javanese. The Spaniards returned to Manila in disgust, and Dominican chaplain Cristobal de Salvatierra wrote in his official report, "Many of them are married to *indias* of Ternate and others are mestizo children of Ternate women and Portuguese men, so they tell their relatives so much that nothing is said in the Spanish camp without their learning it."⁴¹

After the expedition returned, Oidor Dávalos wrote a long letter to the King, worrying about the continuing or increasing Muslim presence. He gave the following details as historical background:

Persians and Arabs and Egyptians and Turks brought [Muhammad's] veneration and evil sect here, and even Moors from Tunis and Granada came here, sometimes in the armadas of Campson [Kait Bey], former Sultan of Cairo and King of Egypt. . . . Thus it seems to me that these Moros of the Philippine Islands [are] mainly those who, as has been said, come from Egypt and Arabia and Mecca, and are their relatives, disciples

and members, and every year they say that Turks come to Sumatra and Borneo, and to Ternate, where there are now some of those defeated in the famous battle which Señor Don Juan de Austria won.⁴²

Conclusion

There are two points worthy of special note in this survey of the Mediterranean connection. The first is that all these data have survived by mere chance outside the texts of standard histories. Nicolo de Conti's travels are known only because Eugenius IV required him to dictate them to papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini as an act of penance for his apostasy. The fortunes of those two Filipino tycoons with honorable Malay titles like *diraja* are known only because of the scrupulous accounts royal bookkeepers kept in Portuguese outposts like Malacca. And Spanish-speaking Pazeculan appears in none of the four eyewitness accounts brought back from the first voyage around the world; he is known to us only because of his services as translator for Spanish peace treaties in Palawan and the Moluccas. Spanish law required these formalities to include such details as how the parties swore their oaths and who did the translating, and the particular *libro de pazes* in this case turned up by accident in the Archives of the Indies only a few years ago.

The second point is the Law of Chance itself. When Monzaide took Vasco de Gama's comrades ashore in India, he introduced them to another interpreter: is it likely that these were the only two men in Calicut who could speak European languages—just waiting, so to speak, to be discovered? When the Spaniards hailed that *para*o in Basilan Strait, what were the chances that its captain should be the only *indio* to have been in the house of Magellan's good friend Francisco Serrão? And when Sebastián de Elcano met Pazeculan in Borneo by sheer happenstance and then Uzman four months later, 2,000 kilometers away in Tidore, what were the odds against their being the only two persons in Southeast Asia who knew Spanish? These questions suggest that the presence of the Spanish-speaking slave on the Luzon caracoa may not have been an isolated phenomenon. Perhaps further research on the Mediterranean connection will provide the final explanation by exploring the question

of just how many people between Granada and Manila could speak Spanish in 1521.

Notes

¹"El libro que trajo la nao Vitoria de las amistades que hicieron con los Reyes de Maluco" (*Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General*, 1528), text in Mauricio Obregon, *La primera Vuelta al Mundo* (Bogota, 1984), p. 300.

²Rodrigo de Aganduru Móriz, "Historia general de las Islas occidentales a la Asia adyacentes, llamadas Philippinas" (MS, 1623), *Colección de Documentos inéditos de la Historia de España*, vol. 78 (Madrid, 1882), p. 60.

³"Navegaçam e vyagem que fez Fernão de Magalhães de Sevilha para Maluco no anno de 1519 annos," *Collecção de Notícias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarines que vivem nos Dominios portuguezes*, vol. 4 (Lisboa, 1826), p. 164.

⁴Obregon, op. cit., pp. 318, 321.

⁵Antonio Pigafetta, *Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo*, text in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland, 1905), vol. 33, p. 114.

⁶Obregon, op. cit., p. 309.

⁷Rodrigo Fernández de Santa ella, *Cosmographia breve introductoria en el Libro de Marco Polo . . . con otro tratado de Micer Pogio florentino que trata delas mesmas tierras & yslas* (Seville, 1503).

⁸"Itinerario di Lucovico Barthema Bolognese," in Gian Battista Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1554), pp. 160-190.

⁹Luis de Marmol, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada* (Malaga, 1600), lib. 2, fol. 40; cited in *Diccionario de la Lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1726), under *almajia*. See also Pedro Agudo Bleye, *Manual de Historia de España*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1975), pp. 409-410; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain* (London, 1918),

pp. 43-45; Robert K. Spaulding, *How Spanish Grew* (Berkeley, 1943), pp. 53-56; and Américo Castro, *España en su Historia, Christianos, Moros y Judios* (Buenos Aires, 1948), pp. 12, 51-54, 59.

¹⁰John D. Latham, "Towards a study of Andalusian immigration and its place in Tunisian history," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, vol. 5 (1957), pp. 203-249; and Neville Barbour, *A Survey of North West Africa* (the Maghreb) (Oxford, 1962), pp. 18-19.

¹¹Damião de Góis, *Cronica do felicissimo rei d. Manuel* (Lisboa, 1566), part 2, p. 113.

¹²*Ibid.*, part 1, p. 89.

¹³Letter dated 25 August 1499, in Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Misões de Padroado Portugues do Oriente: India*, vol. 1 (Lisboa, 1947), p. 9.

¹⁴Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore* (1511-1958) (Lisboa, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 57-59.

¹⁵Letter from Antonio de Heredia dated 20 October 1554, in Joseph Wicki, *Monumenta historica Societas Iesu*, vol. 74 (*Documenta Indica III*) (Rome, 1954), p. 105.

¹⁶Letter from Affonso de Albuquerque to the King dated 1 April 1512, *Collecção de Monumentos ineditos para a Historia das Conquistas dos Portuguezes em Africa, Asia e America*, vol. 10 (Lisboa, 1884), pp. 64-65.

¹⁷Armando Cortesão and Avelina Teixeira de Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. 1 (Lisboa, 1960), plate 10: "Anonymous-Pedro Reinal chart of c. 1517."

¹⁸Wicki, op. cit., p. 537.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 454.

²⁰Silva Rego, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 211.

²¹John Villiers, "As Derradeiras de Mundo: the Dominican missions and the sandalwood trade in the Lesser Sunda Islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *II Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*: Actas (Lisboa, 1985), p. 578.

²²Genevieve Bouchon, "Les premiers voyages portugais a Pasai et

a Pegou (1512-1520)," *archipel* 18 (Paris, 1979), pp. 131-136.

²³Teixera, op. cit., loc. cit.; and Ronald Bishop Smith, *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia (1509-1521)* (Bethesda, 1968), pp. 40-42.

²⁴João de Barros, *Decada terceira de Asia de Ioão de Barros dos Feitos que os Portugueses fezarão no Descobrimiento & Conquista dos Mares & Terras de Oriente* (Lisboa, 1628), book 5, fol. 139.

²⁵Armando Cortesão, *A Suma Oriental de Tome Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodriguez* (Coimbra, 1978), p. 377.

²⁶Translated in Teixeira, op. cit., p. 166.

²⁷Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* (Lisboa, 1725), pp. 20, 35.

²⁸F. De Haan, *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, OUD BATAVIA* (Batavia, 1922), vol. 1, p. 480.

²⁹Mendes Pinto, op. cit., p. 232.

³⁰Cortesão, *Suma*, pp. 376-377, and 362.

³¹Luis Filipe F.R. Thomaz, "Malacca's society on the eve of the Portuguese conquest." Unpublished paper presented at the International Conference on Malay civilization (Kuala Lumpur, 11-13 November 1986), pp. 12, 16-17, 20, 25-26.

³²Jean Denuce, *Magellan, la question des Moluques et la premiere circumnavigation du Globe* (Academie Royal de Belgique: Memoires deuxieme serie Tome IV (1908-1911), pp. 111ff.

³³João de Barros, op. cit., fol. 140.

³⁴Duarte Barbosa's 1516 *Livro em que es da relação do que viu no Oriente Duarte Barbosa*.

³⁵Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The European Discovery of America: the Southern Voyages, A.D. 1492-1616* (New York, 1974), pp. 406-409.

³⁶Antonio Blazquez y Delgado Aguilera, *Libro que trata del Descubrimiento y Principio del Estrecho que se llama de Magallanes por Ginés de Mafra* (Madrid, 1922), p. 200.

³⁷K.S. Mathew, "The first mercantile battle in the Indian Ocean:

the Afro-Asian front against the Portuguese (1508-1509)," *II Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa: Actas* (Lisboa, 1985), pp. 182-183.

³⁸Jeronymo Osorio, *De Rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1574), p. 134; Mathew, op. cit., loc. cit.; and Góis, op. cit., part 2, pp. 85-86, part 4 (1567), pp. 33-34.

³⁹B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies Part Two* (The Hague, 1957), pp. 244-246; and C.R. Boxer, "A note on Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Atjeh 1540-1600," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 10 (1969), pp. 415-428.

⁴⁰See note 42 below.

⁴¹"Relación de algunas cosas sucedidas en el Maluco en el prosecución de la jornada que este año de mill e quiniento e ochenta y cinco mand. hacer el Illmo señor doctor santiago de vera . . . por el Padre frai Xrobal de salvatierra" (AGI Petronato 46, ramo 20). I am indebted to Father Lucio Gutiérrez, O.P., for a copy of this document.

⁴²Melchor Dávalos to the King, Manila 20 June 1585, in Lewis Hanke, *Cuerpo de Documentos del Siglo XVI sobre los derechos de España en las Indias y las Filipinas* (Mexico, 1977), pp. 72, 75.

WHY DID TUPAS BETRAY DAGAMI?¹

Spanish forces under the command of Miguel Lopez Legazpi landed in Cebu unopposed on Saturday, 28 April 1565, following a naval bombardment. During the next three weeks, they began a stockaded fort, recovered a religious image left by Magellan in 1521, and made a blood compact with a harbor prince by the name of Tupas. They suffered no losses until May 23, when Pedro de Arana, one of the commander's personal company, was killed just outside the fort and his head taken. Legazpi burned several suspect villages in retaliation and exhausted every effort to discover his killer, but not until January 1567 was he apprehended. The circumstances were recorded by Legazpi's secretary as follows:

The chief of Gabi, who killed Pedro de Arana by treachery, was captured in a canoe at sea: it seems that he had come to Cebu on some business and Tupas notified the Governor he was there, so they cornered him in an ambush the Governor ordered with two canoes. He confessed it to be true that he and four other chiefs had agreed to come to this fort from the port of Gabi and try to kill some Spaniards, and so 16 *indios* came in a *parao* one night and waited in hiding between the fort and the town of Cebu in a big grassy place among the palms, where they stayed all night until the next dawn, when they saw a Spaniard come out of the fort alone, passing along the beach toward where they were, so they leaped out and speared and killed him and cut off his head and took it back to the port of Gabi where they made a great celebration and feast with the head. For this he was condemned to be drawn and quartered the next day in the place where they had killed Pedro de Arana, where they put his head on a pole, and the four quarters on poles scattered along the beach. With this, the *Indios* were greatly frightened, and the chiefs came to the Governor and told him that the execution was very justified and that he had very much deserved it for what he had done. And Tupas said that he who had been quartered had

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been among the bravest and proudest in these islands, and that when the Spaniards first arrived in this island and the Governor summoned them to come and make peace, he had been among them, and that when they were thinking of making peace and friendship with the Governor, this Chief Dagami, as a proud and valiant man, and the other chiefs from Mactan who were present, had advised him not to make peace with the Spaniards and hindered him from doing so, and that always after that he continued to be rebellious against the Spaniards and in favor of revolts and war, and that the Governor had given him his just desserts.²

The question is, why did Tupas betray Dagami?

Of course, we cannot hope to discover the personal motives for the decision, but we can examine the political, social and economic forces which must have influenced them. What, for instance, were Tupas' resources in manpower and foodstuffs, and how much control did he have over them? What were his relations with Filipinos outside Cebu, and how much experience had he had with foreign aggression? Indeed, who was Tupas; what was his authority and what were his means of income? What, in short, were his options? And finally, what advantages and disadvantages might he have expected from submission to the invading forces?

The Background

Sixteenth-century Cebu was a community of some thousand houses strung out along six or seven kilometers of shoreline, some actually standing in the water on piles, and all built of highly inflammable materials. Its staple food crops were rice and millet grown in hillside swiddens in exchange for seafood, salt and foreign imports like hardware and porcelain, but rice was also traded from Panay, Leyte and the northeast coast of Mindanao. It was an international entrepot, where domestic and foreign goods procured both by trade and raid were exchanged, and harbor fees were collected by removing the rudders and sails of merchantmen while they were doing business in port. It had close ties with Limasawa, a tiny island strategically located to control shipping between the Pacific coast

and the central Philippines, which was a Butuan satellite. Profits were derived not so much from the sale of products grown on the island of Cebu as from the trade itself: gold and slaves, for example, were both bought and sold. Chinese goods were delivered by Malay-speaking Tagalogs, who exploited a trading network which extended from Timor in the south to Canton in the north, and the west coast of the Malay Peninsula facing India. And if Magellan's survivors were correct in reporting the existence of a small Muslim settlement on Mactan called Bulaya, it was probably a Bornean outpost. At least, a Bornean who had married and settled in Cebu was an influential local figure in Legazpi's day.

One of the Magellanic accounts says that the ruler of the port of Cebu was one of four chiefs on the island who governed "in the manner of the Malays."³ This means local *datus* exercising authority not over territory but over subjects, and ruling with the consensus of other chiefs, who gave support to one another by personal alliances—what the Maranaos still call *pegawid* ("support") and *pegawidan* ("supported"). Those who controlled trading posts attracted the most allies and often took prestigious Malay-Sanskrit titles validated in lavish ceremonial feasts like *Rajah* ("ruler") or *Batara* ("noble lord"). One of Tupas' fellow *datus* was a certain *Batala*, but the most respected title for harbor princes was *Sarripada* ("his highness") or its variants, *Salipada*, *Sipad* and *Paduka* (all from Sanskrit *Sri Paduka*). It was used by *Rajah* Humabon, ruler of Cebu in Magellan's time, and at least three of his contemporaries—the Sultan of Brunei, Kabungsuwan's son Maka-alang of Maguindanao, and a Bohol ruler who was killed in a Ternatan-Portuguese raid in 1562. And a Sulu ruler who died in China in 1417 was named *Paduka Batara*.

Tupas must have been born in 1497: he was 70 when he was baptized on 21 March 1568—despite the fact that he had been baptized together with his wife, her parents, his brother, two sisters-in-law and ten nieces in Magellan's day. His father was a *bendahara* ("prime minister") of his own brother, *Rajah* Sarripada Humabon, no doubt the "gouvernatore" who acted as his intermediary with Magellan's foster son as ambassador. Tupas was married to his cousin, Humabon's eldest child—a typical Malay arrangement—but there is no contemporary record of his having inherited either of his father-in-law's titles. (Legazpi mistakenly thought he was Humabon's own son.) It may be worth noting that he had two

prominent brothers. One was presumably older (he had two wives and ten children in 1521) and was called "the bravest and wisest man in the island" by expeditionary ethnographer Antonio Pigafetta.⁴ (During the Cebu Massacre of May 1, he personally made off with the priest who had baptized him.) The other notable brother, Makyo, was evidently younger (he had two small daughters in 1565) and was the most dominating personality Legazpi had to contend with. Perhaps this dominance could be explained by assuming that he was Tupas' brother-in-law rather than his brother—that is, a younger son of Humabon who had been bypassed in favor of an older sister.

Humabon was short, fat and richly tattooed, dressed in a white G-string, and wore heavy gold rings in his ears. Ginés de Mafra, a leading seaman on Magellan's flagship, said he was a relative of the Lord of Mazagua—that is, *Rajah* Kolambu of Limasawa, brother of the *Rajah* of Butuan. Some credence might be given Ginés' knowledgeability since he was the only Spaniard who met Kolambu twice: he spent two months on Limasawa when the Villalobos expedition reprovisioned there in 1543 and Kolambu "still remembered Magellan and showed some things he had given him." He also says Humabon was married to Lapulapu's sister.⁵ This, too, is not at all unlikely. Intermarriage was a common method of sealing alliances between ruling *datus*, and certainly an alliance would have been necessary to protect Cebu harbor shipping against attack from Mactan. Sebastián de Elcano, Magellan's successor, described Lapulapu in the following terms:

There was an island near there called Mauthan [i.e., Mactan], the king of which was greatly esteemed as a fine man in the arts of war and was more powerful than all his neighbors, who responded to the envoys [of Magellan] that he was unwilling to come and do reverence to one whom he had been commanding for so long a time.⁶

It is to be noted that Humabon did not actually participate in the attack on his reputed brother-in-law, and although he rescued the wounded Spaniards "because he was afraid that all those other friends of his would get them," three days later he killed or enslaved all of them he could.⁷

Pigafetta was an admirer of Magellan's—"our mirror, our light, our comfort and our true guide," as he called him—whose account

gives the impression Magellan died trying to enforce a legitimate ruler's authority over an unruly vassal.⁸ All the other eyewitnesses, however, portray Magellan as an outright aggressor. Transylvanus, after interviewing the survivors on their return to Seville, concluded that Magellan himself suggested to the Cebu chief that he exert his power over neighboring chiefs, "seeing that the island was rich in gold and ginger,"⁹ and Ginés de Mafra speculates that Magellan wanted Cebu as one of the two islands to be granted him in perpetuity, "because he had said so many times and wanted many subjects."¹⁰ Perhaps the kindest analysis of his motives was an anonymous Portuguese account which says that "since it seemed to Fernão de Magalhães that he had hit on an opportunity for the other kings to be converted, he sent word to them that they should become Christians and give obedience to the Christian king [i.e., Humabon] or else he would make war on them and burn their holdings and the palm groves off which they lived."¹¹

The Spanish Court appointed a commission of inquiry into the reasons for Magellan's death and why he had wasted so much time in port. The result led to an apology which the Viceroy of Mexico tried unsuccessfully to send the King of Cebu in 1527:

It is well for you to know that this so powerful prince [i.e., the Spanish king], desirous of learning the customs and commerce of these parts, sent a captain of his called Hernando de Magallanes to them with five ships, of which no more than one, due to the little caution and foresight of the said captain, returned to his kingdoms, whereby His Majesty learned the cause of the destruction and loss of the others; and although he was pained by everything, what he regretted most was having his captain depart from the Royal orders and instructions which he carried, most especially in having caused war and discord with you and your people. . . . And for this disobedience, the Lord and maker of all things permitted that he should receive the retribution for his disrespect, dying as he did in the evil endeavors which he attempted contrary to his prince's will.¹²

The whole affair must have been a traumatic experience for the young Tupas. It was he who made the peace pact on board Magellan's flagship, not Humabon; it was he who took Pigafetta home to dinner and entertained him with naked dancing girls; and

it was his brother who was cured of a lingering illness by Magellan acting as *babaylan*. The day after a Spanish fleet dropped anchor, he and his father, together with Rajah Kolambu, eight Cebu datus and a Malay-speaking Muslim merchant, went on board the *Trinidad* with gifts of pigs, goats and chickens, and sat down crosslegged on the deck in front of Magellan and his officers seated on chairs. Magellan then preached a sermon on the True Faith, promised the young prince a suit of Spanish armor if he became a Christian, and was so moved by his own eloquence he burst into tears when Tupas accepted. Tupas did not get the suit of armor, however, though he did get an expensive length of white cloth, a red cap, some beads, a gilded glass goblet and, the following Sunday, the name of the Spanish king's brother.

The affair must also have had its religious significance, including the ceremony of taking another man's name. In Visayan belief, military success depended on amulets, sacrifices and guardian spirits: warships were launched over the bodies of slaves, and the partner in a joint raid who supplied the pre-departure sacrifice to his personal deities received half of the booty. Although the Christian sacrifice was different, Magellan also appeared to identify his faith with war. He unsheathed his sword to venerate the image of the Holy Child he gave Tupas' mother-in-law to replace her own idol, and had the ships' guns fired off both at the elevation of the host during mass and when he came grandly ashore with fireworks, clothed all in white. He had Humabon swear an oath on the scapular he wore as a knight of the military order of Santiago de Compostela, and promised him that after baptism he would more easily conquer his enemies. He wanted to lead a landing party ashore at Mactan on a Saturday "because that was a day especially holy to him,"¹³ and he declined Filipino reinforcements on the grounds that "with divine favor, the Christians would conquer that whole rabble."¹⁴ Perhaps it was the apparent failure of his personal deity on the beachhead that emboldened the Cebuanos to attack his companions a few days later even under the guns of three Spanish men-o-war.

In his undelivered letter, the Viceroy of Mexico suggested that the King of Cebu must have learned about the Spanish king's interest in the Philippines from the "Spaniards who are prisoners in your power."¹⁵ He was probably right. There were Spaniards resident in the Philippines for 40 years after Magellan's death, all slaves of Filipino chiefs. Although eight survivors of the Cebu Massacre were

sold to Chinese, either directly or through Luzon middlemen, five others lived on Cebu, at least two of them surviving up until the 1560's, when one was sold to a Bornean trader. While Tupas was still a young man in 1527, a Spanish deserter by the name of Sebastián de Puerto appeared in Cebu with his master Chief Katunaw selling a boatload of Surigao rice. Katunaw had captured him during a raid on enemy territory near Lianga Bay, where he had a son who was a datu by virtue of a local marriage: the son visited Saavedra's flagship the next year with a baby boy in his arms, and Sebastián escaped. Another dozen Spaniards lost from the Villalobos expedition of 1543 spent the rest of their days in Leyte and Samar villages along the San Juanico Passage. Since they were all experienced mariners, they probably served their masters as *timawa*—that is, Viking-like warriors who accompanied datos on *mangayaw* raids; at least, the last of them, Juan Flores, disappeared with 30 of his Filipino townmates on a raid in 1561. And a Mexican cabin boy by the name of Juanes actually survived to be recovered by Legazpi in 1566, by which time he was thoroughly tattooed, could speak no language but Waray, and had sired two children by one of his master's daughters.

When the first Spanish mission went ashore and told Humabon and his Bendahara that they were not going to pay any harbor fees because their king was so powerful, a merchant from Ciaman (Siam?) who happened to be present warned the Cebuano chiefs that these were the people who had already conquered India and Malacca—meaning the Portuguese, of course—an error the Spaniards promptly corrected. Kolambu probably agreed with this assessment when he arrived a little later, for when he went on board the *Trinidad* the next day as Humabon's representative, the subject was not mentioned. The Portuguese presence in Southeast Asia, however, could hardly have been news in a port city like Cebu: Sulu, Maguindanao and Sarangani had been on the spice route to Malacca ever since that city's founding in 1400. Communications were surprisingly good along such trade routes: all five Spanish expeditions found people in the Philippines who understood Malay, the current trade language—even a native of Malacca in Surigao. Pigafetta explains Kolambu's ability to understand Malay-speaking Enrique of Sumatra by saying, "Kings in these parts know more languages than others," and gives an actual Malay quotation from the Ciaman merchant's conversation with Humabon.¹⁶ In Palawan, the Cebu survivors met a Negro named Bastian who had learned Portuguese in the Moluccas,¹⁷ and

a slave from Luzon who could speak enough Spanish to translate a peace pact,¹⁸ and off Maguindanao they impressed a pilot who had been in the house of Magellan's friend Francisco Serrão in Ternate, who was awaiting Magellan's arrival.¹⁹ But if the Portuguese presence was not news in Cebu, the fact that they had a natural enemy in the Spanish was. And it was a fact whose political significance Tupas must have later remembered.

The Portuguese had been in the Moluccas since 1511, when freebooter Serrão established himself as warlord to the Sultan of Ternate, and started writing letters to Magellan about the location and wealth of the Spice Islands.²⁰ In 1533, one of their ships seized some Filipinos in a slave raid on Siargao after making a peace pact with their chief, and only escaped swift-sailing pursuit by jettisoning their cannons.²¹ Five years later they were back in Mindanao with two priests who baptized a number of chiefs and their families in Butuan and Camiguin and took their children to Ternate to be raised as Christians,²² and in 1543 they sent two Ternatan vessels to discourage Sarangani Bay trading partners from dealing with Villalobos. Then in 1562, they struck Bohol with eight Ternatan warships in a raid so shocking it was still on everybody's lips when Legazpi arrived. They killed hundreds and carried off both booty and captives, and then wiped out the Butuanon settlement on Limasawa, though losing four Portuguese in the action. The paramount chief of Bohol moved to Mindanao and established himself as an overlord to Subanons in Dapitan, a strategic point for advance defence against such raids in the future,²³ and Kolambu's heir escaped to his relatives in Butuan, where the Spaniards met him two years later still in mourning. Thus when Tupas confronted the Spaniards for the second time, the southern Visayas were full of men whose relatives' deaths were still unavenged.

The Confrontation

The Spaniards returned to the Philippines in January 1565, making landfall on the west coast of Samar. During the next three months, they went ashore in Samar, Leyte, Limasawa, Bohol and Negros, made blood compacts, claimed possession in the Spanish king's name, seized or bartered foodstuffs, and lost three men and killed three. It is unlikely that Cebu could have been unaware of their

presence, and in the middle of April definite word came from Bohol. Chiefs Katuna and Gala arrived in a boat accompanied by two Spanish marines—perhaps that same Katunaw who had captured Sebastián de Puerto in Surigao since the Katuna from Bohol was over 100 years old when he was baptized in 1596. They presumably reported that they had both made peace pacts with the Spaniards, who were heavily armed and aggressive, ready to trade luxury goods and had already gone to Butuan to do so, and had seized a Bornean trading vessel and befriended its pilot, from whom they had learned all about local commerce. Tupas no doubt recognized the same arms and armor on the two escorts he had seen in his youth, and while they were in Cebu, the *San Pablo* sailed up the west coast of the island and bombarded one settlement.

After Si Katuna and Si Gala departed, Tupas and his fellow datos had ten days to decide what to do when the Spaniards arrived, as they no doubt would. They decided to resist. All things considered, it was a logical decision. After all, the Spaniards had no strong allies like the Ternatans; they had already been killed, enslaved or driven out of the Philippines four times; and they were probably seeking revenge for Magellan's death.

Two impressive European warships anchored in Cebu harbor on 27 April 1565 and a third the next day. An envoy went ashore with a Sumatran interpreter and told the Cebuano chiefs gathered in a central plaza that the Spaniards had come to open peaceful commercial relations and were inviting their king to the flagship to receive a gift and letter from the King of Spain, and make a peace pact so that trade could begin. A datu immediately went on board to request that the ships' guns not be discharged (as Magellan's had been), and later a Bornean married in Cebu came out to introduce himself as the official interpreter assigned for their stay in port. He said that Tupas would be out later that afternoon. The Cebu townsfolk meanwhile started packing up their clothes and collected the pigs, goats, and chickens between their houses, but Tupas did not appear. The next day, the Spaniards sent envoys ashore three times to reach him, and when an official presented himself as proxy in his stead, they refused to make a pact with anybody but Tupas himself. If Tupas had not already taken to the hills, this would surely have decided him to do so: it was he, after all, who had made the pact with Magellan. On the third contact, the Spanish envoy dropped all pretense to diplomacy and announced that the Cebuanos were rebellious subjects because

they had willingly submitted to Spanish suzerainty 40 years before. The time for talk was now finished, he said: if they did not render obedience immediately, any loss of life or property which might follow would be their own fault.

By this time, the town was completely evacuated except for one large granary. Reinforcements had arrived from the suburbs, and between 1,500 and 2,000 men were now lined up along the waterfront and in a dozen war canoes beyond a point down the beach, all wearing wooden mail or padded armor, and armed with shields, spears, javelins, cutlasses and a few bows and blowguns. When the envoy headed back to the flagship for the last time, they all brandished their weapons and shouted derisively, taunting him and challenging his people to fight. The Spaniards promptly put five boats in the water and the flagship's launch, and opened fire on the town with all ships' guns. The Cebuanos immediately withdrew, beaching and abandoning their boats; the granary went up in flames and ignited some 400 houses, but the enemy landing party was unable to take any prisoners. About 200 soldiers sacked the town but found almost no food, and that evening billeted themselves four to a house in the abandoned settlement. For the next few nights, they got almost no rest as the Cebuanos crept up on their sentries in the dark, so they tore down or burned enough houses to provide an open space around their camp. But during the daytime they discovered a rich source of booty in the porcelain and goldwork Cebuanos interred with their deceased. When Legazpi became aware of the extent of these riches, he issued a strict order that all graves in the future should be opened only in the presence of royal officers to make sure his majesty got his fair share.

On May 8, Legazpi personally turned the first spadeful of earth to begin the construction of a stockaded campsite which would eventually become Fort San Pedro. He then marked off the boundary between the Cebuano settlement and the Spanish military reservation, and took possession of the whole island of Cebu in the name of the Spanish king. By the 16th he considered the fort secure enough to receive the sanctifying presence of the religious image Magellan had given Tupas' mother-in-law, so it was transferred in a solemn procession with military escort. A few days later—or perhaps the same day (the records are contradictory)—Tupas presented himself at the fort with a retinue of more than 40 followers. Perhaps this timing was not a coincidence. That foreign *anito*-figure which had

just been released from confinement in two wooden boxes and restored to its worshippers had been brought to the Philippines by a brave warrior from afar whose death in battle had never been avenged. Now it was installed as the guardian spirit of his followers' fort.

Confronting the enemy commander face to face, Tupas' worst fears were realized. Legazpi delivered a long lecture on Cebuano treachery and apostasy, Magellan's death and the Cebu Massacre, and Tupas' rudeness in having failed to accept the King's letter—which, however, he did not now produce. He insisted that a formal treaty be put in writing before making any blood compact, but finally agreed to make the pact on the condition that Tupas would return within three days to formalize the treaty. Tupas lamely explained that he had only been a child when those things happened, agreed to the condition and made the pact, then left the fort and disappeared. The next week Pedro de Arana's head was carried off to Mactan. The Spaniards promptly burned a few settlements, discovered the bloodstained boat in which the head had been carried, and seized a wounded man, a cripple and a few women. Then on June 1, they had a stroke of good luck: they captured Tupas' sister-in-law and two nieces—his brother Makyo's wife and daughters. Makyo promptly appeared and was followed the next day by Tupas' son and heir, Pisunkan, and finally Tupas himself appeared with eight other chiefs willing to surrender. But not until July 3 did they actually settle the formal treaty.²⁴

What Legazpi called a treaty was actually the terms of an unconditional surrender. It was a kind of prototype of the unequal treaties which western nations were to fasten on Oriental peoples for the next three centuries. It even established the sort of extraterritoriality still pertaining to American military bases in the Philippines. Its full text reads as follows:

Firstly, Tupas, lord of Cebu, and the chiefs of his town submit, oblige and place themselves under the lordship and royal crown of Don Philip the Second of Spain, our Lord, and make themselves his vassals, promising always to be faithful to his service and never to go against him for any cause, and to keep his royal commands as their lord and king, and to obey those of his governors who come to these islands in his royal name, whom they will receive, each and whenever they may come to

their island and town, in grievance or in pleasure, in peace or in war, without any resistance or opposition, which they promise for themselves and for their descendants who may come after them, under the penalties that may be imposed and incurred in case of treachery and treason to their king and lord.

Next, that the chief who killed Pedro de Arana by treachery, one of the Governor's own men, is not included in this amnesty and peace until such time as he appear to answer for it, whose punishment is reserved to the Governor alone, and the said Tupas and the other chiefs having heard it and fully understood by means of the interpreters, they said that they so agreed and promised and obligated themselves to comply, and offered that if they were able to lay hands on the chief who killed Pedro de Arana, they would bring him to be punished, and besides everything referred to above, which is essential, they promised to keep the following articles.

Next, that if Tupas and the others of his island and town asked the Governor's favor and his men's aid against any *indio* enemies of theirs with whom they were at war, the Governor should be obligated to give them all favor and aid; and that the said Tupas and the other chiefs, if the Governor should ask it of them, should be obligated to accompany him against his enemies; and that of all persons who were seized in actions in which the indios and the Spaniards took part together, two equal divisions should be made, the one for the Governor and the Spaniards and the other for Tupas as his natives who took part in such expedition.

Next, that if some *indio* of these islands should commit some crime against some Spaniard, the said Tupas and chiefs should be obliged to seize him and bring him before the Governor so that he might give him the punishment which his crime warranted, and that if some Spaniard should cause some harm or offense against the natives, or take something from them, the said chiefs should give notice of it to the Governor and tell him who it was so that his lordship might punish him and make restitution for it, if it were in his power to do so.

Next, that if some slave or other person should flee from the camp of the Spaniards, or go into the interior where the indios are and live, the said chiefs and natives should be obligated to seize and bring them before the Governor, and similarly, if some

indio or *india*, free or slave, should come to the camp of the Spaniards from the said indios, the said Governor promises to order him returned and surrendered, in such wise that neither party should deceive the other or hide anything at all.

Next, that the said natives, neither now nor at any other time, should be able to enter the Royal Camp of the Spaniards with any kind of arms, under pain of the offender's being punished severely, without any excuse he might offer being accepted.

Next, the chiefs and natives shall be obliged to sell the Spaniards from all the provisions they have from their crops at the prices they are worth among themselves, without there being any change in them, and similarly, the Governor orders that they be given the goods which are brought from Spain at moderate prices, and that after the prices are once fixed, it shall not be possible to increase them, either by one party or the other.

All of which conditions and articles, and each one of them, the said Tupas and the chiefs of the said island and town of Cebu stated that they accepted for themselves and in the name of the other chiefs who were absent, and that they would so keep them and comply with them, in all and everything that is contained in them, and that if they should transgress them or any part of them, the Governor could punish them; all of which he, in the same way in the name of his majesty, promised to keep and to comply with in the name of his majesty, promised to keep and to comply with in all that has been stated above.

All of which was agreed to before the said Fernando Riquel, government notary, to which he attested²⁵

Despite its elegant wording, the results of this arrogant farce were in fact an impasse, not a victory, for if the Cebuanos could not dislodge the Spaniards from their fort, neither could the Spaniards move beyond it. The fort was built in a triangle, with two sides facing the town across an open buffer zone commanded by firearms. Rainy weather heavy enough to render Spanish matchlocks inoperative would also prevent a fire attack by the Cebuanos, and poisoning the fort's water supply would be difficult and probably bring immediate reprisal from the ships' guns. And surely the Spaniards could not be lured into another banquet ambush. On the other hand, the Spaniards did not have the manpower to extend their conquest and, worse yet, were dependent on Cebuano food supplies, and although

these could be seized at gunpoint, they could not be produced by gunfire. The Cebuanos made the obvious response by seeing to it that none were available: they did not plant their crops that planting season. This was a brave decision, which required the cooperation of all chiefs and a willingness to suffer hunger themselves. It is against this stalemate that we must consider the social dynamics which may have affected Tupas' decision to betray Dagami.

The Stalemate

Military occupation and the annexation of territory was something new to Visayan experience and they were unprepared to meet it. Warfare in insular Southeast Asia was largely a matter of seaborne raids to procure labor for raising the spices, fishing the pearls, collecting the forest products and weaving the cloth which were traded for manufactured goods from mainland Asia. Communities unable to intercept raiders at sea took defensive action by burning their settlements and fleeing inland, returning to rebuild after the raiders had departed. Political aggrandizement was effected by trading networks based on intermarriage, both between ruling families and between foreign merchants and their customers in trading posts. So the son of the ruler of Manila married the daughter of the Sultan of Brunei; Francisco Serrão raised a mestizo family in Ternate; and Tupas was able to make use of Si Damit, Kamotuan and Bapa Silaw—all well-informed Malay-speaking Muslims settled in Cebu. So, too, Tupas sent his own daughter to Legazpi as a concubine, but Legazpi had her baptized and married off to a Greek caulker named Andreas Pérez.²⁶ But Tupas had no means of dealing with three powerful sea raiders anchored in his harbor: Filipino warships were built for speed and maneuverability, not for artillery duels.

Tupas had no autocratic authority, nor even any fancy titles like Rajah or Sarripada, but ruled with the consensus of his peers. When he made his pact with Legazpi, he was accompanied by a Chief Tumanyan, otherwise unknown, and the three of them exchanged blood together. In his youth he appears to have been overshadowed by an elder brother with two wives and a reputation for bravery and wisdom, and in his old age by his younger brother (or brother-in-law?), Makyo. When Legazpi set Tupas' submission as the condition

for releasing Makyo's wife and daughters, Makyo said he would bring him in even if he had to seize and bind him himself. It was Makyo and another brother named Katepan who had persuaded Legazpi to release two Mactan fugitives who had fled to Tupas' house, which Tupas later revealed to Legazpi with the complaint that they had been unwilling to share the ransom money they collected. It was Makyo who received funding from Legazpi to import rice from Panay—gold and a small cannon—and when he returned and Tupas claimed that one of the boats was his, Legazpi sternly told him that it was public knowledge that the deal had been made with his brother and that all the boats were his. And whatever the balance of power between Cebu and Mactan may have been, Tupas and his brothers were clearly associated with the Mactan people, including Dagami of Gabi.

Whether Tupas' wife was actually the niece of the famous Lapulapu or not, the contemporary accounts regularly refer to the people of Mactan as the friends, allies and relatives of the people of Cebu. Legazpi was aware that they freely came and went in Cebu—the two who fled to Tupas' house were crewmen of a Mactan boat apprehended prowling the harbor—and that they spoke boldly of burning the Spanish fort to the ground, but, of course, he had no way of recognizing them. He sent Tupas to persuade them to surrender, and hand over Dagami, but Tupas spent three days there before returning to say the place was completely deserted and that everybody had moved to Leyte with all their possessions. Legazpi then ordered a hundred-man task force to go after them, but Tupas requested them to delay until he could recall Cebu boats that had gone to Leyte on business. When the expedition was finally ready, Makyo volunteered his services as guide, and in Leyte led it astray while he sent warning to the target villages. They were therefore all deserted when the Spaniards finally arrived, and no Mactan fugitives were ever located.

Visayan society was virile and warlike, and esteem was given men in proportion to the number of tattoos they had won for bravery in battle. Raiders from some other Cebu community who killed three in an attack on the port in July called the defenders women because they had permitted invaders to settle there, and men from Mactan cast in their teeth the manliness with which their parents had dealt with Magellan. Tupas even at his advanced age went out to defend his honor, reinforced by Spanish allies, who won an immediate

reputation not only for superior arms but for the ferocity with which they stormed the enemy settlement. They also surprised everybody by failing to take their share of the booty and slaves. (A Filipino slave whose escape from the Spanish fort no doubt inspired the pertinent article in the treaty had been an outright purchase from Bornean traders.) Probably nobody realized that the Spaniards were playing for higher stakes, so to speak, than a few Chinese jars and bronze gongs—namely, the entire archipelago. And they had the capital in guns, gold and trade goods to invest in it.

The Spaniards also appeared to be lenient victors. Ransom and captivity were normal objects of Visayan warfare, and fines and debt servitude were normal civil penalties. Thus when Makyo appeared to negotiate his wife's and daughters' release, he offered to meet any price, including his own slavery. Yet he was neither fined nor punished in any way—indeed, his ladies were released dressed in clothes fit for Spanish royalty—and neither were any other Cebuanos in their dealings with occupation forces, except two who had killed Spaniards, and they received the same sentence as two Spanish mutineers—execution. And because Legazpi wished to avoid open warfare for both strategic and tactical reasons, Makyo concluded he could easily be deceived and manipulated. Late in September, Makyo contracted to fetch rice from Panay and left with an advance in gold for 240 cavans. He did not return until the following January, with a tale that the voyage had taken three months because of adverse weather and that he had lost one boatload at sea. He then persuaded Legazpi to settle for 100 cavans so as to relieve the hunger of the Spanish king's Cebuano subjects with the rest, and while it was being unloaded, gave short measure on the grounds that he had had to meet a Panay price increase out of his own pocket. Legazpi quietly accepted 90 cavans.

The bold but impractical Cebu plan to starve the Spaniards out was already being undermined by delivery from other islands. Muslim traders arrived from Luzon, unloaded their Chinese wares in the fort to make cargo space for loading rice in Panay, and left four merchants behind to do business with Cebuano and Spanish customers: they were well-informed businessmen and hard bargainers. They had met Bapa Silaw also buying rice in Panay, notified Mindoro partners of the potential new markets in Cebu, and quoted the prices the Spaniards had paid in Butuan back in March, and took advantage of their seller's market to inflate prices. Direct producers

soon followed—eight boats from Panay at the beginning of October, for example, and a chief named Si Umbas from Negros who was shipwrecked on the Cebu coast and appealed to Legazpi, who bought a local boat to send him home in. Legazpi also sent task forces to Leyte with orders to buy rice or seize it if it was not for sale, a persuasive argument which quickly attracted suppliers. Naturally all these sellers swore allegiance to the Spanish Crown: the tribute which was required for doing business with customers who paid in hard specie and offered military protection was a small operating expense in comparison to direct delivery to Cebu, anchorage fees, commissions and ritual gifts to Tupas and other datus. And for Datu Umbas of Negros to play *pegawid* to Legazpi's *pegawidan* was no more than an ordinary example of Filipino interisland politics.

This new mercantile dispensation had obvious advantages to Filipino chiefs outside Cebu. On the one hand, the entrepot of Cebu would now be stocked with a greater variety of imports for sale or barter, and, on the other, they would have no Spanish soldiers in their own communities. For Tupas, the disadvantages were also obvious: he would have to put up with a Spanish fort and occupation forces and personally bear the brunt of their orders and complaints, and he was being deprived not only of his suppliers and allies but of the control of his harbor. Two Mindoro trading vessels that arrived with iron, perfumes, porcelain, silk and tin requested license to trade not from Tupas but from Legazpi, who ignored Cebuano advice to remove their sails and rudders as was customary. A week later they sailed on to Bohol with a passport in Spanish, but left merchants behind to buy up Cebu goats and chickens to sell the Spaniards at a profit. Legazpi by this time realized that Tagalog Muslims enjoyed a virtual monopoly on the retailing of Chinese goods in the archipelago, and Cebu's days as Spain's commercial outpost in the Orient were numbered: Legazpi had already notified the "King of Luzon" that he would like to send an embassy there. If Tupas did not know this, and he probably did not, he might reasonably have hoped to salvage some prestige and profit by becoming the chief compradore in a colonial capital. But not, of course, if his authority was being challenged by a man like Dagami of Gabi.

By the time the Cebuanos let their second planting season pass, the stalemate was nonetheless breaking in Spanish favor. It may be considered to have ended with the arrival of the *San Geronimo* with reinforcements from Mexico on 15 October 1566, and word that the

ship Legazpi had sent out in June 1565 had reached there safely. Cebu now was in fact the eastern outpost of Spanish empire. The following month an event occurred which may well have been the deciding factor in Tupas' deliberations—the return of the Portuguese. The Ternatan-Portuguese raid of 1562 had been such a traumatic experience that Filipino communities regularly took to the hills at the least rumor of their approach, or the presence of anybody who, like the Spaniards, looked like them. Thus when fishermen discovered a Portuguese fleet off the Mindoro coast only 180 kilometers from Cebu, and two small Portuguese vessels actually took refuge in a Mactan cove, Cebu was completely evacuated. Legazpi flushed out the two in Mactan, the others were caught in a storm, all of them had left Philippine waters by the end of December, and hostilities were limited to an exchange of bombastic notes. But the incident must have put the thought in Tupas' mind that Spanish occupation might be the lesser of two evils.

The Decision

Considering all the factors suggested by the contemporary accounts, Tupas' situation at the end of 1566 may be summarized as follows:

Economically, he had no access to gold mines, forest exports or harbor fees, and was dependent on outside sources for food. Politically, he had no autocratic control and had lost most of his allies to an enemy with blood compacts in Bohol, Leyte, Panay, Negros and Samar, beneficiaries in Cebu, and trans-Pacific communications with his home base. Militarily, he had no options: he would be held accountable for any show of hostility, and even a suicidal attack on the enemy garrison would be pointless unless he could neutralize three powerful warships. Culturally, he had family or barangay ties with the most outspoken proponents of resistance, and was probably worried about the power of *anito*-figures and spirits of the dead. Personally, he was an old man whose leadership was threatened by younger men of greater vigor, and he was directly or indirectly guilty of the betrayal, death, sale or enslavement of enemies now in a position to take revenge. In short, resistance was unrealistic, recalcitrance dangerous, and cooperation promising: unless he was willing to abandon Cebu permanently, accommodation was called

for. Predictable disadvantages were the loss of political primacy, commercial income and the respect of his peers, the odium of failing or betraying his people, and the risk of retaliation by competitors. Probable advantages were the preservation of the paramount chieftaincy of a trading port, reliable military support against local enemies and protection against foreign predators, and a share in the profits of a farflung commercial empire.

We do not know how often Dagami came to Cebu "on business" but we know what that business was—fomenting revolt. January of 1567 would have been a good time for it: since December 19, more than half the garrison force had been scattered along the coasts of Leyte in small boats looking for rice. During their absence, two men were poisoned inside the fort by Cebuana wine-sellers and three others brought to the point of death. (Legazpi's sentries told him frankly they would rather die of poison than give up drinking.) Legazpi sent for Tupas and his fellow *datus* and delivered an impassioned harangue. He was simply amazed, he said, "that in return for so many and such good deeds as he had done for them and was doing every day, such good will and love as he had for them and had been showing them, they would make such villainous repayment, and that there were such evil men among them that they would venture to put poison, or order it put, in the wine they sold the Spaniards."²⁷

When the chiefs proclaimed their innocence and promised to find and punish the guilty persons, Legazpi said their own guilt could only be absolved by delivering the culprits to him. So, the following day, Tupas handed over two women who, under torture, implicated two others: three of them were sentenced to flogging and deportation, and the fourth to death. The one condemned requested baptism before being beheaded, and so died with the names of God and the Virgin Mary on her lips. Then her body was drawn and quartered and displayed along the road from the Cebuano settlement to the fort. That afternoon Tupas betrayed Dagami to Legazpi.

It was probably an easy decision.

Notes

¹The major sources for this paper are four collections of contemporary documents, cited as follows: (1) CVD: Martín Fernández

Navarette, *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1825-1837); (2) CDIA: *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacada en su mayor Parte del Real Archivo de Indias*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1866); (3) CDIU: *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españolas de Ultramar*, 13 vols. (Madrid, 1885-1932); and (4) HPAF: Isacio Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, 15 vols. (Manila, 1965-1981). T. Valentino Sitoy, Jr., gives a complete listing of those documents pertaining to the 16th-century Philippines in *The Initial Encounter*, vol. 1 of his *A History of Christianity in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1985), pp. 349-367, a bibliographic service which will place all future historians of this period in his debt. Other sources are cited where appropriate.

²CDIU 3:210-211.

³M. de Jong, *Um Roteiro inedito de Circumnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães* (Coimbra, 1927), p. 20. The original manuscript, unsigned but entitled, "*Viage de Fernão de Magalhães escripta p̃ hũ homẽ q̃ foi na copanhia*—Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan written by a man who was in the crew," was found in the library of the University of Leiden. Since it has not been published in English, I offer the following translation of the pertinent passage:

They found many islands populated with people wearing clothes and governed by kings in the manner of the Malays. Among these islands they found one large one called Cebu in which four kings reigned, one of whom ruled the eastern part where there was a port and city called Caybo. Fernão de Magalhães entered this port with his ships on the last of February of the year 1521. As soon as he entered, he ordered the ships' guns fired, at which many people rushed to the beach with spears and shields and swords; and the king, who was present, sent at once to ask the captain who he was, and from what land or people, and what he came seeking. The captain replied that he was Fernão de Magalhães, captain of the King of Castile, from which place he had come to offer peace and friendship in order to trade as friends in those lands. The king responded that he was very happy, but that peace must be made,

that the custom of that land was that they both had to draw blood from their breast, he and the captain, and take it in their mouths, the one from the other, and with this a lasting and mutual peace would be made. The captain said he was willing to do so, and so they did it and became friends and brothers. Once the peace or friendship was made, they sent many provisions to the ship, and the captains ordered some merchandise taken ashore so those of the land might select what they wanted and so enjoy better trade.

And he ordered on the first Sunday following, that they should say mass ashore for all those of the fleet to hear, and so that those of that land would be moved to devotion on seeing the method of our sacrifices. And so it was that, by the grace of God, the king and queen, his wife, and some of the chiefs of the realm were converted on that Sunday and asked for baptism, and during the following week, the major part of the realm was converted. And since it seemed to Fernão de Magalhães that he had hit on an opportunity for the other kings to be converted, he sent to tell them that they should become Christians or give obedience to the Christian king, or otherwise he would make war on them and burn their lands and the palm groves off which they supported themselves. Two of them gave their obedience to the Christian king for fear of the damage he could do, but the other sent word that he was unwilling to do either of the things he ordered him and that if he should make war on him, he would defend himself.

On receiving this reply, Fernão de Magalhães undertook to do him some damage or humble him, and decided to set out for that land with some armed men and make a strike in his lands, as in fact he did set out with 70 men with arquebuses, and commenced to burn houses and cut palm trees. At this, the king took steps to defend his land with many people, and gave battle against him; but so long as our gunpowder lasted, those of that land did not dare to close with them; but when it was used up, they surrounded us on all sides, and since they were incomparably more numerous, they prevailed, and our men were not able to defend themselves or escape, and, fighting until they were exhausted, some died, and Fernão de Magalhães among them, who, when he was alive, did not want the king his friend to aid him with his men who were there at that time, saying that with divine favor, the Christians would be enough to conquer that whole rabble. But when he was dead, the king rushed in and saved those many who were wounded and ordered them carried

back to the ships, because he was afraid that all those other friends of his would get together and seize them.

⁴Antonio Pigafetta, *Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo*, text in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 33 (Cleveland, 1905), p. 164.

⁵Antonio Blazquez y Delgado Aguilera, *Libro que trata del Descubrimiento y Principio del Estrecho que se llama de Magallanes por Ginés de Mafra* (Madrid, 1922), p. 198. According to Rodrigo de Aganduru Móriz in 1624, presumably writing from a lost account by Martín de Islares, "Maruma [i.e., Kolambu] took Bernard de la Torre to his house, regaled him grandly, and served him off porcelain and other European ware" ("Historia General de las Islas occidentales a la Asia adyacentes llamadas Philipinas," *Colección de Documenta inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. 79 [Madrid, 1882], p. 511.

⁶Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, *Segunda Parte de la natural y general Historia de las Indias Yslas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* (Valladolid, 1552), fol. viii verso. Oviedo, official historiographer of the Indies, critically compared Elcano's personal account with those of Pigafetta and Transylvanus. Portuguese historian Gaspar Corrêa, who was in India when the survivors of Magellan's flagship arrived there, got the same impression, and referred to the Cebuanos in his *Lendas da India* as "well disposed people who had a king, a people well treated who were at war with other neighbors who were more powerful" (*Lendas da India por Gaspar Corrêa* [Rodrigo José de Lima Felner et., Lisbon, 1860], vol. 2, p. 630.)

⁷M. de Jong, op. cit., p. 21.

⁸Pigafetta, op. cit., pp. 174-180.

⁹Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis insulis*, translated in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 324.

¹⁰Blazquez, op. cit., p. 200.

¹¹M. de Jong, op. cit., loc. cit.

¹²CVD 5:424-425.

¹³Pigafetta, op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁴M. de Jong, op. cit., loc. cit.

¹⁵CVD 5:424.

¹⁶Pigafetta, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁷"Navegaçam e vyagem que fez Fernão de Magalhães de Sevilha pera Maluco no anno de 1519 annos," *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarines que vivem nos Dominios portuguezes*, tomo 4, num 1 (Lisboa, 1826), p. 164.

¹⁸The treaty was made by Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa and Sebastián de Elcano with Tuan Maamud, lord of Palawan and a vassal of the Sultan of Brunei, his brother Guantail and son Tuan Maamad on 1 October 1521, and its terms were "declared to the said Tuan Maamud and his brother and son by a Moro who understood something of our Castilian language, which Moro was taken in the junk of the King of Luzon." ("El libro que trajo de nao Vitoria de las amnistades que hicieron con los Reyes de Malucos 1521," text in Mauricio Obregón, *La primera Vuelta al Mundo* [Bogota, 1984], p. 300). Aganduru Móríz, presumably writing from an eye-witness account now lost, says that this slave was a native of Macassar (op. cit., vol. 78, p. 60).

¹⁹"Navegaçam e vyagem," p. 169.

²⁰*Decada terceira de Asia de João de Barros dos feitos os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimiento & Conquista dos Mares & Terras de Oriente* (Lisboa, 1628), livro 5, fols. 139-140.

²¹Antonio San Román, *Historia de la India Oriental* (Valladolid, 1603), p. 480.

²²Ibid., p. 493; and Antonio Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimientos antigos, e modernos* (1563; 3rd ed. Porto, 1731), p. 256; and *Da Asia de João de Barros* (new ed., Lisboa, 1777), Decada IV, liv. ix, cap. xxvi.

²³Francisco Combés, *Historia de Mindanao, Jolo y sus Adyacentes* (Madrid, 1667; Retana ed., 1897), p. 33/34.

²⁴Two contemporary accounts give this date as June 4, but an official document notarized by officers of the Royal Treasury states, "On the third of July of the said year [1565], seven varas [about six meters] of brown damask were given out by order of his lordship, to make clothing for Tupas, lord of the town of Cebu, when he came

to give obedience in the name of his majesty, and make peace" (HPAF 13:508n., 1560).

²⁵The original notarized document has not survived, but copies appear, with slight variation in wording, in CDIU 3:101-103, and Lorenzo Pérez, "Un código desconocido, relativo a las Islas Filipinas," *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina* 4 (1933):15-16, 510-511; and an abridged version appears in Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1698, Merino ed., 1975), pp. 221-222.

²⁶The contemporary account refers to this woman as Tupas' niece, but she was probably his daughter by a secondary wife inasmuch as her son, Sergeant Francisco Bayon—probably the three-year-old child she had at the time of her marriage—identified his mother in testimony sworn in 1645 as "Doña Isabel Perez . . . daughter of the King of Cebu who was the first native who married a Spaniard for the settling of Manila" (Jesús Gayo Aragón, introduction to *Doctrina Christiana: primer Libro impreso en Filipinas* [Manila, 1951], p. 27).

²⁷CDIU 3:208-209.

THE CONQUERORS AS SEEN BY THE CONQUERED

Translator's Introduction. In 1983, Father Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, OFM, published chapter 61 of Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora's "Historia de la perdida y descubrimiento del galeon San Phelipe con el glorioso martirio de los gloriosos martires del Japon" in the *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, vol. 43, pp. 357-363, making use of a copy in the Archivo Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, of the original document which appears in the Lilly Library (Bloomington, Indiana), MS Fol. 13. The very appropriate title translated above, "Los conquistadores vistos por los conquistados," was supplied by Father Cayetano.

Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora was a lay brother of the Franciscan Order who arrived in the Philippines in April or May of 1594, preached the Gospel in Camarines, and was then sent to Japan in 1595 to investigate the Franciscan-Jesuit controversy there, returning the same year to write his report. On 20 March 1596, he sailed for Mexico on the ill-starred galleon *San Felipe* which, overloaded with a valuable cargo and crowded with passengers, was caught in a series of storms, lost her rudder and most of her rigging, but managed to make the coast of Shikoku. There, Japanese boats came out from Hirado and offered to tow her into port, but deliberately ran her aground on a shoal and confiscated her cargo. Her crew and passengers were thus in Japan when the famous martyrdoms of 2 February 1597 took place in Nagasaki on nearby Kyushu. Fray Juan himself managed to get to Macao on a Portuguese vessel and left for Spain again the next year. He made two more trips to the Philippines in 1602 and 1609, and died in Spain in 1614 or 1615.

Among Fray Juan's fellow passengers on the *San Felipe* was a Bikolano Christian by the name of Tomas with whom he struck up an acquaintance, and chapter 61 of his "Perdida y descubrimiento" is the account of a dialogue between them in Hirado after their misfortunes. Of particular interest is the inclusion of the Spanish translation of a Bikolano letter originally written in Philippine script, from a chieftain of Gumaca (in Quezon Province today) named Panpanga to his brother Antonio Simaon, Tomas' friend.

In the translation offered here, I render *indio* as Filipino, respell *Umaca* as Gumaca and *Urando* as Hirado, but leave *tingue* ("mountains," from Malay *tinggi*, "high") as it appears in the original.

The poor man, having done with his doleful and zealous sobbing, looked up and saw a Filipino coming in sight with a load of firewood from deeper in the mountain, with whom he had a great friendship, and when he got where he was and recognized him, he stopped with the firewood and said:

"Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ. Why so sad, brother?"

"May he always be praised, brother," he replied. "To explain whence my sadness comes, I ask: who has ever seen such afflictions as our Lord has laid on us since we set out from Manila and yet we are so ungrateful that it has made no impression in our hearts?"

"True," said the Filipino, for he knew how to speak Spanish well. "We are an untamed people. God help us and soften our hearts. How much better it would be, brother, had our bodies been drowned in the midst of those typhoons! For then at least our hearts would have been contrite through our fear and with the confessions we were forced to make, for now it appears that on land we go about our business all forgetful of what was promised to God, for it is a great sorrow to see with what little fear they behave even among these Japanese foreigners."

"Certainly," said the Spaniard, "it would be sensible for them to give a good example, since most of these wish to become Christians."

"Many refrain from becoming such," said the Filipino, "because they see little peace and little brotherhood in the Spaniards. Most of them think that on becoming Christians they would live like this. I know a Filipino called Panpanga from my place, from whom I have a letter he wrote to a brother of his to our shame, in which he gives an account of the reasons he did not become a Christian."

"I would be very pleased to hear it," said the Spaniard.

So, taking the letter out of his shirt, he said:

"Here it is in Tagalog letters. Let's go to town and on the way I'll explain the circumstances which led this Filipino to write it, and then I'll translate it into Spanish."

So, as they started down the mountain and came out on the plain, the Filipino said:

"When I came from Gumaca, which is on the opposite coast [from Manila], where I am a native, a Filipino chieftain came with me called Simaho. We reached Manila, where we became Christians. This Filipino had a brother and sister in our town, and with the light which he now had of Heaven, he bewailed his past darkness, because he was a man naturally good. And remembering his brother and sister with the great desire that they become Christians, he wrote them a letter in which he advised them that they should understand that if they did not become Christians they would go to Hell, and prayed them to come to Manila and stay in his house—for he was now married—and be baptized and then they could return to our town. After reading the devout Filipino's letter, his brother and sister came to Manila at once and went and put up in their brother's house, who admonished them every day and taught them our law. The sister, called Aliway, was quickly converted because she didn't go out of the house, and was named Catalina. But the brother, called Panpanga, on the contrary, he could not persuade to be converted, and despite everything he said, his brother was unmoved and held his peace, though sometimes he would say, "Very well, we'll think it over carefully." And so he would go out every day and take a walk around Manila.

"He went through the Parian of the Chinese and Japanese and noted what was going on. Other times he went through the marketplace and went into the governor's palace and took careful note of the behavior of the soldiers there; he went upstairs with some other Filipinos, for a Filipino had come there from Gumaca to file a case, and thus he saw the methods of those clerks and other solicitors. Sometimes he also looked in and saw what the Filipinos were answering in the suits filed against them in the Audiencia. He entered the churches and carefully observed the way they prayed and sang and the rest of the ceremonies performed in those temples. Then he would return to his brother's house in the evening, who would ask him how Manila struck him and how soon he expected to become a Christian. Panpanga would respond to him in few words for he was a judicious man, 'Brother, the things which seem good to me are few and those which seem evil many. Let us go on thinking it over carefully, for I see few good deeds but

many good words with bad deeds.'

"So in this way he stayed half a year in his brother's house, and when the time came that the cargo arrived for the galleons *Santo Tomas* and *Santa Potenciana*, Panpanga went around observing the trafficking and disorder in Manila during those days. Sometimes he entered the churches and found them deserted. And, eager to see the ships themselves, he told his brother he would go to Cavite and see the ships where they brought so many goods. But when he reached the port of Cavite and saw the great confusion and the many oaths and greed with which they went about unloading, he was frightened."

"How much more," said the Spaniard, "that Filipino would have been frightened at the loading of this sad ship we took before it broke up! Never did I see such confusion."

And he began to cry again, saying:

"Ah, woe to you, Manila! When will you ever set your affairs in order! Ay, false deceivers, schemers, fabricators of bribes, outbidders by the ton! Oh, who could denounce them, one from the other!"

"Don't make yourself miserable, my brother," replied the Filipino, "for they have already paid dearly for it."

"I would like them to feel it in their souls so they would reform—that's why I'm crying. Because that wealth—He who gave it took it away, and He will give it again and take it away yet again until no more ships be seen on this earth bearing the names of apostles but made into dens of thieves, and in my mind this is so painful to me I don't even want to remember it, for it seems to me useless when we have the cause of our misfortune right before our eyes."

"Never mind, brother: the best thing is to commend it to God. But, to get back to the Filipino from my place—

"The day he went to see how the galleon was being loaded, he returned to Manila frightened, arriving in the afternoon, and, passing down a street near Santo Domingo, in a house I know very well, he saw that they were making bales and tying them with rattan at great speed, and a Spaniard pushing the Filipinos so much that Panpanga stopped to watch, and after he was there a little while watching the great care he was putting into the work, the owner happened to look up toward the door and saw two or three Filipinos watching what he was doing, and he came out very angry but very

slyly and suddenly grabbed Panpanga, for the others saw him coming, and pulled him inside and told him to help those Filipinos get the work done quicker and he would pay him for it. Since Panpanga was a Filipino chieftain, he told him he didn't know how to do that kind of work, and the Spaniard, whom I know very well, punched him three or four times and told him, 'I'll get you a teacher.' And he pushed him inside without listening to him and closed him up in a room with three other Filipinos and kept him there for four days, when, by dint of slaps and kicks and being pushed around by the neck, he became an expert in short order."

"As they do every day," said the Spaniard. "And did he pay him afterwards?"

"Yes, for after he had finished," said the Filipino, "because Panpanga asked for his wages, he gave him for the four days two kicks, not counting the blows he had already received. And then, to save his conscience, he ordered him given a ganta of rice, and when the Filipino didn't want it, gave him a slap in the face. And since it looked as he if was going to lock him up again in the room, the Filipino gave a leap and got out on the street and went to his brother's house, who, on seeing him so thin and changed, asked him why he had stayed so long in Cavite."

"It was five days ago I left Manila, and a Spaniard got me and kept me in his house for four of them, where the pay he gave me was blows. And if you don't believe it, look where he punched me this morning."

"Have patience," said his brother, "because for us this is the path to Heaven."

"And, since his brother Panpanga was so judicious, he said, 'And for the Spaniards, what is the path?'"

"If they are bad," said Simaon, who is now called Antonio, "they will go to Hell, and those who are good will go to the glory of Heaven."

"But where are those good ones that I don't see them?"

"Don't you see all the religious, those who serve God by day and by night?"

"So, tell me, brother," said Panpanga, "is your God and that of the friars one and that of the Spaniards another?"

"No, brother," said Simaon. "Because everybody has one God

and there is no other."

"So how is it that most of them speak evil of their God?"

"How do they speak evil?" said his brother.

"Suppose you go to Cavite and you will see how bad they treat their God. Otherwise, go to the house of that Spaniard where I went, and you will see how he treats Him."

"Do not think," said his brother, "that when they swear or curse and make some oath they are speaking evil of the God by this."

"I cannot believe that they are saying good, because what they say, they say very angry. Therefore, my brother, you stay here with your God for I am going to go back to my *tingues*."

"And, so saying and doing, he left his brother's house. And for all that he begged him to stay, he could not persuade him, nor did he wish to take his sister back again, either, because she was a Christian. Thus he left for our town of Gumaca, and feeling that he was not safe even there because it was a port which the Spaniards regularly frequented coming or going to Camarines and the Bicol River, he crossed the gulf of the sea in front of Gumaca and went up into the *tingues* where he had his heritage and fields. And in such manner did he excite the hearts of the Filipinos with his arrival, that all those whom he met he not only told not to become Christians, but even to avoid going to Manila."

"Oh, holy God!" said the Spaniard. "What damage the Spaniards do with their bad example and evil living!"

"The damage they do is such," said the Filipino, "that the religious who went to Gumaca afterwards had the greatest labor they had in all the islands to reduce those Filipinos: it seemed to them that they had come to deceive them and, if it had not been for the great love and friendliness which they saw in the friars of Saint Francis, I believe there would not have been one Christian convert, so frightened and excited were they with what Panpanga told them. And he, after seeing himself free among those mountains, wrote a letter to his brother, which he then gave to me."

"I would be very pleased to see it," said the Spaniard.

"Here, I have it," said the Filipino. "And once we reach Hirado, we will read it after eating and I will translate for you."

With this, they arrived at the town at the time when the Pilot Major had just arrived from Miaco [Kyoto] and told what he had seen, with which he frightened all the Spaniards no little.

It was already two in the afternoon when the Spaniard, eager to hear the letter, left his lodgings after taking a little rest and went to Tomas's—for so the Filipino was called—and told him to read him the letter.

"I have to go and get firewood for the ship now, so on the way I will read it to you."

"Very well," said the Spaniard.

So the two of them went together. And, taking the letter from his shirt, he read it aloud, translating it into Castilian, since he knew it very well.

(Letter from Panpanga to his brother Antonio):

It will be almost a year ago that I received a letter from you, and went there as soon as I saw it, together with your sister—for she is no longer mine, since she is a Christian, and let herself be misled like a woman. But I, as a man, know how to think carefully before I act, and so I went to your Manila, looking around and observing what went on, and all I can tell you is that never have I seen men of more war and less peace among themselves than the Spaniards.

Half a year I was in that place, and rarely did I see quarreling among the Chinese and Japanese. And as for us, you know very well how few quarrels we have. And although in ancient times we used to make war among ourselves, since the Spaniards came, we have all lived in peace and they were left with the fighting. In half a year I saw quarrels there in Manila more than a hundred times, and the one day I went to Cavite, I saw more than six arguments among those on the galleon. And some Spaniards killed two other Spaniards in just half a year. When I went through Parian, I found Spaniards quarreling with the Chinese every day, and because they did not give them their goods for what they wanted, they would threaten them with violence, and kick and slap them and grab them by the neck, and call them queers, cuckolds, thieves, traitors, dogs, Moros, and other names for which there are no words among us, and us they called carabaos.

Sometimes I also went to the governor's house and saw the soldiers there under arms who were always gambling and speaking evil of their God, and this as angry as if they were crocodiles,

so wild they were.

I also went up into the governor's house and saw others who were writing as clerks, and, as you know, in the law suit which one from our town filed, they took twelve pesos for just two or three papers which he made, and as for me, they took my gold chain and because I defended it, kicked me, besides what that Spaniard gave me which I told you.

You often told me that your God orders them not to steal or do evil nor covet anybody else's goods. Either you lied to me when you said that or your God orders the opposite, because I saw Spaniards in the marketplace stealing whatever they could from the Chinese, and also not wanting to pay them for what they had bought.

I also saw with what great greed they went to unload the galleon, doing much harm to the Filipinos during that time, and then also speaking evil of God.

Once I saw some priests quarreling inside the church, and a Spaniard killed near it, and therefore I tell you that from here on, don't you or your sister call yourselves my brother and sister, but, myself, I want to go up to the tingues and walk through these mountains and, as is my nature, eat *camote* roots and bananas in peace among these carabaos and deer, and here I will remain with my natural friends.

"This, brother, is a summary of what this letter contains from the Filipino Panpanga, which, though not very well composed, at least shows him to be of good intellect."

"Truly, brother," said the Spaniard, "in a few words he tells the truth of everything that goes on in Manila. God reform it by his mercy and bring them to true repentance, and convert this Filipino who wrote the letter to become a Christian, for I am certain that he would be a good one if he were."

"He already is, and such that there is none better in the whole land."

"Oh, what a joy to hear! But how did he become a Christian?"

"I learned it about a year ago from his brother Antonio, and it was like this. When the friars of Saint Francis reached Gumaca and learned that many Filipinos were roaming around those mountains, they went to look for them, and, coming across Panpanga, showed him such love and told him so many things that he came to town,

and there, when he saw the holy life of the friars and there were no Spaniards to impede it, he became a Christian helped by the Grace of God, and was the cause of many other Filipinos coming down, for they had great love for him, and thus Gumaca was settled and is now one of the best towns on the opposite coast because of the many who have come down from the tingues and the mountains."

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TAGALOG TECHNOLOGY FROM THE *VOCABULARIO DE LENGUA TAGALO* OF PEDRO DE SAN BUENAVENTURA, O.F.M.

A SERIOUS shortcoming of the Spanish colonial documents which form the basis for 16th-century Philippine historiography is that they do not describe the technology by which Filipinos exploited the resources of their archipelago. Administrative and missionary correspondence, as well as occasional treatises on Filipino culture, refer frequently enough to commodities like rice and textiles as objects of tribute, but do not reveal the methods by which they were produced. Moreover, the Philippine islands even today contain hundreds of thousands of pieces of valuable Chinese porcelains imported over a period of half a millenium. What technology supported an economy which could participate so vigorously in the international commerce of Asia, and attract imperialist invasion from the other side of the globe?

Fortunately, the early Spanish dictionaries of Philippine languages make it possible to answer this question. For the lexicographer, unlike the colonial office-holder or friar proselytizer, has to define all the terms he collects whether he is personally interested in the subject to which they pertain or not. Thus, the names which he records for the individual parts of the loom enable us to reconstruct the Filipino weaving technique, while the absence of indigenous terms for potter's wheels or plows strongly suggests that these items were either completely wanting or introduced too recently to have influenced native nomenclature. Moreover, since the dictionaries were produced by missionaries for the use of other missionaries, they are free of the deliberate distortions to which official correspondents were frequently tempted for the purpose of their own interests though, of course, they may contain errors due to the ignorance or misunderstanding of the lexicographer himself.

The earliest Tagalog dictionary extant, and one of the best during the whole Spanish period, is Pedro de San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario de lengua tagala el romance castellano presto primero*

(*Vocabulary of the Tagalog language with Castilian Romance (given first)*), printed by Filipinos Tomas Pinpin and Domingo Loag in Pila, Laguna Province, in 1613. Father San Buenaventura was a Franciscan friar who arrived in the Philippines in the middle of the last decade of the 16th century, and from 1597 to 1611 was assigned to such villages as Paete, Nagcarlan, and Santa Cruz on the shores of Laguna de Bay, including Siniloan on the northeastern foothills frontier, before completing his lexicon in Pila. He probably had access to a manuscript dictionary by his famous predecessor, Franciscan tagalist Francisco Plasencia, which has not survived, and his own varied stations enabled him to assign geographic limitations to certain words with annotations like "M" for Manila or "T" for the hill folk of the "tingues."

In using the 1613 *Vocabulario* to reconstruct 16th-century Tagalog technology, it is well to be aware that languages change to meet changing conditions, and that, therefore, not all terms necessarily reflect older conditions, and that some may have shifted meaning to accommodate new introductions. Fray Pedro defines *al-al*, for example, as tooth-filing with a stone tool (and inveighs against the custom, "Whoever files his teeth, I will surely punish"), but his printer, Tomas Pinpin, in his 1610 Spanish grammar for Tagalogs, *Librong pagaaralan nang manga tagalog nang uicang castila*, uses it to mean any kind of file. Again, the limited use of firearms at the time of the Spanish advent is indicated by the use of imported terms like *alcabus* (Spanish *arquebus*), *astingal* (Malay *istanggar*) or *baril*, a Malay word ultimately derived from Portuguese. On the other hand, with 13 terms for rice and 22 varieties of dry rice alone, and 11 words for planting, five for fields, and six for transplanting, we may safely conclude that the cultivation of both swidden and irrigated rice was an integral part of late 16th-century Tagalog economy.

With these considerations in mind, the following summary of 16th-century Tagalog technology is presented. For the convenience of the modern reader, the *Vocabulario's* orthography has been modified by changing *c*, *cq* and *qu* to *k*, and *v* to *w*, but no attempt has been made to differentiate *u* from *o* or final *r* from *d*, or to insert glottals (which Father San Buenaventura sometimes represents as *w*—e.g., *tawo* for *tao*).

* * * * *

Agriculture. The staple food crops are tubers and rice, though millet is common enough for fine jeweller's work to be called "millet-like"—*dawadawa*. Six major root crops are distinguished: *ubi*, *tugi*, *gabi* (whose greens are called *lain* or *awtias*), *kamote* ("they didn't have them before"), and two wild ones—*lakas* and *nami*. *Karataw* is a variety of quick-maturing rice, but is also the general name for 22 varieties of dry rice. All these crops are grown in swiddens. In addition, the extent of gardening and arboriculture is indicated by such specialized terms as *akna*, a pot for nursing seeds for transplanting, or *suyak*, spikes driven into palm-tree trunks to protect the fruit against animals, and the presence of machines like the *alilisan* sugar mill and *hapitan* coco oil press.

Swiddens. *Saka* is the general term for field work, and *tabtab* is to work fields on level ground (called *parang*) by removing grasses, etc. *Pokan*, felling trees for swiddening, is stated to be a hill-dwellers' term, and so is *lawag*, "to look for fields to farm every year as Tinguians do." *Kaingin* is cutting branches, *pagsisiga* burning, *pan-ting* removing roots, and *dolok*, piling up for a second burning. *Gosar* is to prepare a field in subsequent years, mainly by pulling up the roots of harvested grain, and *kohit* is to uproot grass with a broad-pointed stick. *Bakal* is a mountaineer's planting stick for drilling holes, and *baligway* and *balway* are digging sticks for root crops. Various signs indicate claim to work a certain site—*sangab*, *watawat* and *lawag*—or to mark the boundary of a field—*banga*. *Bukir* is to plant rice in swiddens, *borbor* to drop seeds in the holes, and *golamas* to weed between the stalks of growing rice.

Irrigation. Rice is also grown under irrigation by a sophisticated, labor-intensive method. To open a new pond field is *bagbag*, and to channel water through canals is *alolor* or *salolo*, the latter being the actual bamboo or palm-tree conduits. The preparation of a field already harvested begins with *hapaw*, removing last year's stalks and roots, by *hapay*, cutting the straw and throwing it down, and *himono*, pulling up any roots still fixed, to be followed later by *kamkam*, removing newly sprouted weeds. Then comes *timbonin*, piling up, followed by *palispis* and *pagi* cleaning, which leaves the field ready for planting after the soil has been soaked, without plowing. *Pinpin* and *bongton* are dividing mounds which serve both as boundaries and pathways, and *pilapil* are ones made by piling up

debris from the field itself. *Tarak* are stakes set as dividing markers, and *ali* is to move them surreptitiously. The motivation for such movement is reflected in terms like *banli* and *iwi*, the rent or profit off a field, or *bintang*, "a mortgage such that while it is unredeemed the debtor and the one who gave the money divide the field every year."

Transplanting. Seeding and transplanting is accomplished in five distinct phases. First, the seeds are soaked in a sack called *baloyot* until they germinate, whereupon they are transferred to a basket to put out roots. Next comes *dapog*, placing them on inundated banana leaf trays until the roots are long enough for transplanting. Third is *palan*, transplanting them into the field, matted together, "for the first time," and next is *ponla* or *salip*, transplanting them the second time "by small handfuls." Fifth and last is *dorol*, transplanting for the third time by individual seedlings, inserting them into the soil with a tool called a *pandorol*. Once the plants begin to bear heads, scarecrows are placed in the fields of wickerwork or palm-leaf pendants kept moving by the wind—*pamanay*, *balian*, *palawit*, *salidangdang*, *bankiaw*, or *pakanlog*; and *bugawan* huts may be constructed to shelter persons who stay there to drive birds away. Harvesting itself is done stalk by stalk with a *pan-ani* knife or a blade of wood about 20 cm. long called *gapas*—and day wages for such labor is called *nolang*.

Fishing. Both coastal and inland waters are exploited for their protein content in a variety of ways. To fish with a certain kind of small net is *sima*, or with a long net at river mouths, *lambat*, while *salap* is a purse sein. Casting nets vary in size of mesh for different species—e.g., *pamanak* for skates and *panamaw* for conger eels—while their lead sinkers are *barondala*. Basket traps include the *salakan*—"wide below with many prongs and narrow above with a hole for inserting the hand to get the fish"—or the Laguna *bobo*, for which channels (*bobohan*) are specially constructed. Fish-trap corals are placed in mountain streams (*tain*), in canals (*bangkat* or the longer and larger *bankatan*), or along the seacoast (*posor*) where fish are trapped when the tide goes out. *Biwas* is to fish with hooks, *nilay* with hook and line, *pataw* with hook-loaded rattan lines extended at sea or in rivers, while *binwit*, *siit* and *banyugan* are cane rods with hooks attached. Under favorable conditions, it is possible

to spear fish with harpoons like the *bolos* with barbs or the three-pronged *salapang*. *Tangar* is to fish by moonlight to locate the schools before dropping the net, and *ilaw* by torchlight. And *tuba* is defined as a tree whose fruit when rotten "makes fish drunk."

Hunting. To go hunting with spears—or firearms, when the Spaniards provided them—is *akar*, and if accompanied by hounds, *nangangaso*. If the dogs are used to drive game into nets, that is *bating*, and nets for wild boar may be as long as 60 meters. *Balaon* or *balon* pits are dug for large animals with bamboo spikes set in the bottom, but more effective are bamboo spring-powered automatic crossbows or arbalests set along runs frequented by game. *Balatik* and *balais* are the general terms, with *paraig* being designed for pigs and deer, or even dogs; *pasolo* for carabao, and *tagin*, one with a certain specialized design. Small arbalests for rats are the *pasipit* and *paitbong*, but the *panloob* is an ordinary bamboo rattrap with no moving parts. (It is interesting that among the half dozen terms for ground spikes planted for military purposes, none are mentioned for protecting crops against foraging animals.) Birds are caught with snares (*sagar*) or a sticky birdlime made of jackfruit juice, reeds, and a little clay (*patda*), and are valued not merely as food but for their decorative plumage. So, too, the civet cat is taken not so much for its flesh as for its perfume-fixing civet (*diris*).

Textiles. The main material for textiles is cotton. Abaca (*saha* or *ihit*) is not mentioned as cloth, though fine abaca thread is used for fringes on the *bangkorohan* skirt (from *bangkoro*, a bark used as a red dye). *Husi* is defined as a fine red or colored silk made only in Tondo, and *anabo*, *balibago* and *labayo* are all listed as bark threads, but used for cordage not cloth. The extensive vocabulary connected with cotton culture, however, indicates a well-developed industry, no doubt with considerable economic significance.

Cotton. To harvest pods from the tree is *bitin*, and to remove the cotton inside is *baynos*, or *pipis* or *potpot* if done with a sort of rolling-pin on a table. *Notnot* is to untangle the wool with the fingers, and *pakpak* is to cudgel it to make it fluffy. Spinning with a spindle and distaff is *sulir*, and one distaff-ful is *bosogsorlan*. Cotton thread is simply called *sinulir* (that is, "spun") and the general term for thread, *lubir*, refers to cotton unless otherwise specified. *Galongang*

and *labayan* are reels for winding thread, and *palatohat* a simple frame for making skeins (*labay* or *hokas*) of 70 turns if long, 80 if short. To wash it for dyeing is *togas*, and *sapar* is soaking it in blue dye. Dyestuffs include *suga* (saffron or pomegranate), *tayom* (indigo), and red *agusip* and *talab* roots, cotton husks themselves making a bright red dye. And in preparation for weaving, doubling the threads is *lambal*, to wax them is *hagor*, *higor* or *pagkit*, and to starch them with cooked rice paste is *pangas*.

Looms. Weaving is accomplished with the back-strap loom. The whole paraphernalia is called *tandaya*, including the heddles, laze-rods and *balili* beater. To set up the warp, with the warp beam suspended from a partition of the house, is *hanay*. The warp itself is *hilig*, the reed through which it passes, *bahay-hilig* ("warp-house"), and the heddle for shedding, *anak-hilig* ("warp child") or *goyonan* (from *goyon*, the thread wound around the heddle to pick up alternate warp threads). Laze-rods—i.e., flat or round reeds inserted into the warp to prevent tangling and help preserve tension—include the *pugi* on the weaver's side of the shed, and *lilitan* on the far side. *Gicos* are the cords fastening the breast-beam to the back-strap. The shuttle, *sikwan*, is also called a harpoon (*bolos*) or *bolos sa paghabi* to distinguish it from the fishing harpoon; and the bobbin inside is the *pingi*, *potong*, or *sinikwan*. No secondary heddles for imparting a design are distinguished by name, so it is probably not surprising that the only multicolored fabric listed is referred to as striped—the gaudy black, blue and white *sabasabat*. The many fancy mantles, shawls, headcloths and G-strings mentioned are all decorated with fringes or are "worked" (*labrada*), that is, embroidered or sewn.

Basketry. Baskets range from fine, split-bamboo weaving like the *bogsok* clothes hamper or tight-woven *bakay* for carrying rice ("wide above, narrow below"), to the rattan *alat* with openings as large as latticework. Tight weaving also appears in the *bilawo* winnowing tray, *mitay* "mattress," *kupit* knapsack, and large or small *abobot* "suitcases," but not in the ordinary bamboo carrying basket, *bangkat*. Only one hat is specified as being woven—the *sawing*; the others are all plaited of leaves—e.g., the ladies' *silap* or the large, wide *tankolok*. A container for carrying rice is also made of leaves sewn together, the *tohog*, named after the palm from which the leaves are taken. *Papag* are a sort of ubiquitous frames or trays made of canes

with their ends inserted into a rectangular bamboo or wooden frame, and serve a wide variety of uses—beds, tables, benches, rowing benches, house-parts, trays for soaking rice seedlings or, in general, any light substitute for boards. Ships' sails are also woven of palm matting, though, ironically, the famous Manila galleon carried sails of locally woven canvas.

Carpentry. Woodworking and carpentry appear to be limited to, and excel in, hewing, joinery and carving. That is, timber is squared (*pagpag*) and reduced to boards with an adze (*daras*) rather than a saw, fitted together with mortise-and-tenon joints or rabbeting made with a chisel (*pait*), and given esthetic form by knifework—*liso* for carving in general, or *lilok* with a knife-point. *Koko* is mortising; *pasak* and *lapat* are wedges or tenons, and *pako* and *tilos* are bamboo pegs or nails. Benches and tables require such joinery, and so do the great *dalam* chiefs' houses, but by far the most highly developed skill is employed in the construction of boats and ships with long, curved strakes handhewn all in one piece. At least 16 different types of vessels are listed, from the one-piece *bilog* and *bawoto* or five-man *balasian*, to the *tapak* with dugout keel, planks and nipa-palm washboards, or the large, fully plank-built *balangay*, *kopit*, *birok* or *biroko*. The planks making up the hull are literally sewed or laced together, so there is a special vocabulary for caulking—*siksik* in general, and three distinct stages which make use of coconut husk, bamboo and resin—*balotbot*, *salogsog*, and *balibol*. Nautical terminology includes not only items to be expected like prow, poop, mast, sails, sheets, braces, outriggers and rowing benches, but such niceties as *kinsikinsi* railings on the stern, intricate *pimpin* carving, or *paminir* boards which "stop up and seal the sides of the boat where the gentlemen sit so they won't get wet."

Housing. *Bahay* is the general term for house, and *lapat* is one made of mortised timber. *Dalam* are the great dwellings of chiefs, able to accommodate relatives, servants, slaves and guests, and their construction may be such protracted enterprises that there is a special word for an occupied but uncompleted house—*abolog*. Chiefs have a sort of lounging platform under their houses for palaver and public gossip called *palapag* or *gulanggulang*, though the latter term may also apply to a loosely woven public shed serving the same purpose in some more centralized location. A room built under a house is

gilir, and a pigpen, *banlat*. *Balongbalong* and *sagobang* are small dwellings in the fields or countryside, and *habong*, *dangpa* and *kobo* are huts built in the mountains, *bakokol* being a very low one without a floor. *Kohala* and *landay* are temporary shelters for spending the night on the road or in the hills—*dalongdong* especially when wood-cutting, and *salong* "just for one night." *Banglin* is a granary; *tambobong* and *olobo* are granaries constructed as separate buildings, but *amatong* or *talongtong* are granaries inside other structures.

Pottery. The poverty of the dictionary's pot-making vocabulary is probably to be explained by the presence of many terms for the imported ceramics, plates, jars and Chinese porcelains which reduced the native industry to supplying cheap earthenware for everyday household use. Such would be two sizes of ordinary water containers, the small *galong* and large *banga*, or the *kalan* brazier and *hinawan* basin for washing the hands and feet. There are only a few special terms like *tikir*, a jar with "ears," and *saro*, a variety most typically made in Pasig. The potter herself—or himself—is *mamimipi*, but beyond a term for firing with rice-bran (*bayang*), none are given for the manufacturing process. Most significant is the absence of any word for potter's-wheel: it is probably safe to conclude that the "paddle-and-anvil" technique is used, especially since that method is mentioned in contemporaneous lexicons like Marcos de Lisboa's *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol* and Alonso de Méntrida's *Bocabulario de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna y haria*.

Metal-working. One of the richest vocabularies in the whole dictionary is that pertaining to metallurgy and metal-working, including special subdivisions for goldsmithy and jewelry. Iron, gold and silver are the most frequently mentioned metals, with copper (*tumbaga*) being glossed with reference to the Spanish use of the word (viz., an alloy of gold, silver and copper) as "Metal from which they make bells or [artillery] pieces; they don't distinguish it from copper." Both lead and tin are *tinga*, with the latter being distinguished as *tinga puti*, i.e., "white lead." Ochre is used to give gold a good, reddish color. Brass is well known but rare, and *sobong* is to mix metals "by alchemy"—for example, copper, gold and silver to cast especially fine bells (i.e., gongs). *Dolang* is the general term for

mining, with *longa* meaning excavating rather than panning. Iron is obtained from three sources—steel bars from Spain, *binalon* (literally, "wrought"), ingots (*babak*) or bars (*landok*) from China, "just as it comes from the mine," and Chinese cast iron pans, *patalim*, so-called because they are the most common source for steel blades (*talim*).

Blacksmithy. *Panday* is a blacksmith, though the term is extended to other specialized craftsmen like shipwrights, and *kasalo* is a blacksmith's apprentice. The bellows, with feather-ringed pistons, are *hasohasor* *bobolosan*, and the fact that they are part of the typical "Malay forge" is indicated by the presence of the *lilim*, a bored stone nozzle which concentrates the draft received through two bamboo pipes from the two cylinders. *Labol* is to heat red hot, *goyong-goyong* a wood which produces the best blacksmiths' charcoal (though jewellers require *wisak* or *bogos*), and *sugba* is to temper in cold water. *Lokot* is forging, *banhay* is shaping, and *asor* is mauling or smithing in general, and includes specialized procedures like *tanar*, hammering into bars, or *batbat*, into flat sheets; *tambal*, working two pieces of metal into one; *balon*, beating iron and steel together; and *binsal*, sheathing iron with steel. *Alob* or *balasbas* is reformatting used or damaged tools.

Metallurgy and gold. In addition to smithing, metals are also worked by founding. *Bobo* is the general term, with *boboan* being a mould. *Limbagan* is to cast such things as images, with *guhít* being the fine work on them after casting, and *panala* is a small mould for money or seals (*tala*). Wire drawn through a die is *batak*, but twisted brass wire is *kawar*. Goldsmithing almost doubles the metal-working vocabulary with more delicate tools and sophisticated techniques like soldering, fusing, enameling, filigreeing—and adulterating—to produce dozens of varieties of chains and necklaces, brooches, pendants, pectorals and collars, diadems and bracelets, beads, rings, anklets and armbands, earrings and plugs, and dental inlays. It was, as a matter of fact, the glitter of just such gold chains dangling from Filipino necks that first dazzled the eye of the Spanish conquistador—those *kamagi* as thick as a man's finger and reaching down to the chest, or the six-strand *gamay* or *barbar* that were never removed, or the heirloom *layon* and *lokaylokayan* which so completely disappeared into colonial

coffers that the terms were already anarchisms when Father San Buenaventura recorded them.

This, then, is the basic technology which provided the tools and weapons, the foodstuffs and raw materials, of 16th-century Tagalog culture. In retrospect, it appears notably simple, even primitive, especially when compared with that of those interior tribes nowadays called cultural minorities. For, except for boat-building, they are the same. And the similarity can be pressed further by noting such "tribal" items as the *kalikam*, a highly decorated G-string restricted to the upper class, and the *bangsintawo* ("people's-flute") played with the nose, or such "primitive" customs as *borol*, a corpse kept fully clothed in the house until it putrefies; *bangkay*, ancestral bones disinterred and reburied in a jar at the foot of a balete tree, or *tambolok*, a tuft of feathers worn in the hair to indicate an oath sworn to kill somebody in mourning for a relative.

Yet, other terms indicate that Tagalog culture, far from being primitive, was sophisticated and rich to the point of luxury. In addition to jewelry and a half dozen kinds of purses and moneybelts (the *karay*, for example, for carrying scales to weigh out gold for purchases on the spot), imports include a silk G-string from Borneo called *kalikot*, figured-cloth mantles from Japan, *sinagitlong*, and such Chinese porcelains as the *dinolang* plate as large as a baptismal font, or the *binubulacan* which is so white it is literally "cottony." The good life includes cosmetics called *popol* makeup of ceruse or white lead, *tana* eyebrow paint, red *kamontigi* nail polish, and *kabling* after-bath ointment, or such niceties as *sipan* toothpicks, and *palirong* eyeshades for falling asleep. And certain local products must have been truly expensive simply in terms of the man-hours required to produce them—an *arrack*, for example, distilled in a simple wooden *toong* (alembic) so exquisite Father San Buenaventura defined it as "*Dalisay*—a liquor 24-carats strong, which burns without fire."

The question arises: how was all this elegance provided by so simple a technology? The answer is probably to be found in two other specialized vocabularies—those connected with warfare and commerce.

Ngayaw is a raid, *agaw* an assault, *dayo* an attack, *bakay* an ambush, and *samsam* a sacking. *Bog-oy* is to find treasure or booty, *gubat* to devastate a town or people, *bangga* to engage a ship at sea, and *digma* to conquer a city or town. *Polotong* is a squad of warriors, *batiaw* a military spy, *bihag* a captive, and *sagip* a prisoner held for ransom. *Mamamayar* is a dealer in slaves and *banyaga* an itinerant merchant; *dagang* is to contract merchandise in gross, and *otay* to sell by wholesale lots. *Tapa* is a capital investment and *sama* a mercantile company; *angka* is to corner the market, and *abang*, "to detain merchandise, as they do along the Pasig and Taguig, to sell in Manila for a higher price later."

Banli is to lease an irrigated field for half the crop, and *iwi* is to do the same with any possession that bears increase, that is, livestock as well as fields. *Palaba* is a loan at 20% interest per month (*pahigit* if calculated daily) and *ganda*, 100% per annum, while *ibayiw* is any loan at 100% and *dalawa-lima*, 150%. And *bintang* means "to add more and more every day to the debt a person owes, as if it were *buwis* [tribute], by lending him more with the intention that he will not be able to repay it and so become a slave." Thus it would appear that the flourishing Tagalog culture which Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura recorded in 1613 depended not so much upon a technology for exploiting the natural environment as on techniques for exploiting human populations.

It has long been a commonplace of Philippine historiography that the so-called cultural minorities in the interior mountain ranges were driven from the coastal plains into their present locations by later migrants with a more advanced technology. The present study of 16th-century Tagalog vocabulary, however, lends little support to such a theory. Rather, it suggests an alternate theory—namely, that the 16th-century coastal civilizations developed where they did not because of any technological superiority but because of their access to the sea, sea-lanes, overseas markets, and foreign ideas. Such civilizations would therefore have been produced by Filipinos within the archipelago, not imported by civilized migrants from abroad. Thus, the Tagalogs would not have occupied the seacoasts because they had an advanced culture; they would have had an advanced culture because they occupied the seacoasts.

ORIPUN AND ALIPIN IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PHILIPPINES

The earliest descriptions of Filipino social structure date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Spanish chroniclers portrayed it as containing three classes—the rulers, their supporters, and everybody else. Members of the first class they call nobles, knights or titled lords, though they mention no higher authority competent to bestow such titles. Those in the second they call variously gentry (*hidalgos* or *villanos*), commoners, plebeians, freemen, freed men or simply "neither lords nor slaves," a confusion which reflects a shift from seafaring warfare to agricultural vassalage. But the accounts are unanimous in calling all members of the third class slaves, though they are then just as unanimous in adding such disclaimers as "but not real slaves" or "hardly slaves at all" or "slaves in name only." One of them attempts a solution by isolating a fourth class, "tribute-payers" (*pecheros*). The reason for this imprecision is clear. These persons appear to come into their lowly condition through birth, debt, sale or capture, and to be liable to such genuinely chattel fates as burial in some warlord's tomb. Yet the conditions of their slavery are graduated, redeemable and transferable, and social mobility crosses the line into the second category in both directions.

Our earliest information about Filipino slavery actually predates the formal accounts by half a century: ironically, it is supplied by the experience of 50 or 60 Spaniards who suffered it themselves.

Eight Spaniards from Magellan's ill-fated expedition of 1521, for example, were sold outright to the Chinese; five others were still in Cebu 22 years later, and one survived into the early 1560's to be sold to Bornean traders and then resold—or ransomed off—to the Portuguese in Malacca. In 1526 Sebastián de Puerto was one of three captured along the coast of what is now Surigao del Sur by sea-raiding, rice-dealing Chief Katunaw of Lianga Bay, but managed to escape 18 months later. Two of his shipmates, Sánchez and Román,

were captured in the Sangir Islands and sold to Filipinos in Sarangani, where they were ransomed in gold by the Saavedra expedition in 1528. At the same time a moribund seaman by the name of Grijalva who preferred to die on land rather than on shipboard was put ashore at his own request; instead of dying, he recovered to be sold to the "King of Mindanao"—presumably Sharif Kabungsuwan himself. There he met two other Spaniards who had been sold by Sangirese, and the three of them soon afterwards accepted the offer of the Sultan of Brunei to send them to Malacca in response to a direct request from the Portuguese governor there.

Fifteen years later, the Villalobos expedition of 1543-1544 spent almost 18 months in southern Philippine waters, during which time more than four dozen of its members became Filipino captives, slaves, hostages—or, perhaps, paying guests. (One of them, Father Geronimo Santisteban, reporting that they were guests, not captives, rather ineptly quoted Seneca, "*Benevicium accipere, libertatem vendere est*—To accept a favor is to sell your freedom." Thirty-four of these were ransomed off by rescue missions from the Moluccas, though sometimes only after considerable haggling over prices, but five others could not be located on the Mindanao coast around Caraga, and another three were left behind in Samar because the Spanish commander could not meet the price demanded. Ten others, believed to have been drowned at the mouth of the Basey River, also survived for years in Filipino servitude, most of them as warriors who finally died in battle. (The last of them, Juan Flores, disappeared on a raid with 30 of his Filipino townmates in 1562.) But a Mexican cabin boy by the name of Juanes actually survived to be recovered by Miguel de Legazpi in 1566, by which time he was thoroughly tattooed and could speak no language but *Waray*. He had also sired two children by one of his master Subuco's daughters, and his father-in-law was so reluctant to part with him that he accepted his price only under duress. Juanes was then carried off to Cebu where, deprived of the protection of any Filipino in-laws in a seaport in which law and order had been undermined by foreign occupation, he was poisoned to death by a jealous Cebuana.

To what class of Filipino society did all these alien migrants belong? Those who were promptly sold to international merchants presumably belonged to no class, and may be written off as captives. But the last of Magellan's survivors must have been in his late 60's when he changed hands for the last time. In what healthy servitude

had he been employed for 40 years to enjoy twice the normal life expectancy of a 16th-century seaman? Those who married into Filipino villages and bore on their bodies the decorations of valor in Filipino wars could hardly have been non-persons in society: were they slaves? And if not, how were they so readily resold? Specifically, when Subuco handed over his son-in-law Juanes for gold, was he selling a slave—or recovering the bride-price he had advanced to a destitute suitor for his daughter's hand?

Our inability to answer these questions underscores the difficulty of trying to apply a European political concept to a Philippine social class, and recommends instead an examination of the condition of this third category in 16th-century Filipino terms. Members of this class were called *oripun* in Visayan and *alipin* in Tagalog. Since economic and political conditions differed significantly in these two language areas, we will examine each of them separately.

The Visayan Oripun

Visayan society as known to early Spanish recorders was thinly scattered along the coasts of the major islands between Luzon and Mindanao—for example, Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar—and the northeastern corner of Mindanao. Its political units were small—less than a thousand persons at most—and were potentially hostile to one another unless related by blood, intermarriage, trading partnerships, or subjugation through conquest. Weaponry was too unsophisticated to be monopolized by individuals, so political power was exercised through client-patron relationships. The economy was based on products from swiddens, forests and the sea, and their redistribution by a pattern of trade-raids which made public protection necessary. Chiefs fulfilled this function by means of specialized warships designed for speed, maneuverability and operation in shallow, reef-filled waters, but with limited cargo capacity. Penal measures were largely fines and indenture so that a limited labor force would not be taken out of production.

A Visayan myth recorded by more than one observer divides society into three divinely sanctioned orders—*datus*, *timawa* and *oripun*. The word *datu* was used for both a social class and a political office: the class was a birthright aristocracy or royalty careful to preserve its pedigree, and the office was the captaincy of a band of

warrior supporters bound by voluntary oath of allegiance and entitled to defence and revenge at their captain's personal risk. These supporters were *timawa* and they were not only their *datu*'s comrades-at-arms and personal bodyguards, testing his wine for poison before he or any other *datu* drank it, but usually his own relatives or even his natural sons. Everybody else was *oripun*. They supported *timawa* and *datu* alike with obligatory agricultural and industrial labor, or its equivalent in rice. When the Spaniards reached Cebu in 1565, they found the subordination of the *oripun* to the other two orders so obvious and the distinction between *datu* and *timawa* so slight that they did not at first recognize the existence of three orders. Twenty years earlier, Descalante Alvarado thought that Samar chief-tain Iberein was being rowed about by galley-slaves wearing gold collars, not recognizing such a Viking elite.

As a matter of fact, these observers were unconsciously recording a normal flexibility of Visayan society: if *timawa* multiplied beyond their *datu*'s trade-raiding needs, they had either to attach themselves to another warlord, or become sedentary vassals rendering foodstuffs or export products. Thus Miguel de Loarca, a tribute-collecting *encomendero* who operated a government shipyard in Panay in the 1570's and wrote our earliest major account, found it necessary to say he was describing the "true" or "recognized" *timawa*. Their normal decline was accelerated by Spanish conquest into what modern textbooks fondly think of as a middle class, and found its final debasement in the modern Visayan word, which means "poor, destitute." But Legazpi in 1565 at first thought there were only two social classes: a *timawa* flanking his lord and sharing his accolades looked like a member of the upper class, but one who handed over tribute in rice looked like an *oripun*.

Oripun were commoners in the technical sense of the word: that is, they could not marry people of royal blood (*datus*) and were under obligation to serve and support the aristocracy of the first class and the privileged retainers of the second. Their usual service was agricultural labor, and a distinctive characteristic of the upper two classes of society was that *datus* and *timawa* did not ordinarily perform agricultural labor. Within this limitation, however, members of the third class varied in economic status and social standing from men of consequence (who might actually win *datu* status through repute in battle) to chattel slaves born into their condition in their master's house. And at the very bottom of the social scale,

the oripun included—if for no other reason than that there was no other place to assign them—those persons seized in *mangayaw* raids or purchased in a domestic slave trade which was literally big business. (*Bahandi* was heirloom wealth like gold, brass gongs, Chinese porcelains and slaves, and the merchandising of it was called *alang* or *boton*.)

The class of oripun was common to all the Visayan accounts, but the particular sub-classes which reflected the socio-economic variations within it differed considerably. The differences were not merely in terminology, as would be expected in an area extending from Samar to Mindanao, but in actual specifications. In the most favored condition, for example, were Loarca's *tumataban* and *tumaranpok*, the *horohanes* of the so-called Boxer Codex, and the *gintobo* or *namamahay* of Francisco Alcina's unpublished 1668 manuscript on Visayan culture. All of these could commute their agricultural duties into other forms of service such as rowing or fighting or actual payments in kind called *handug* or *dagupan*. (If a timawa made such payments, they were called *buis*, like harbor fees.) Loarca's *ayuey* ("the most enslaved of all") only served in their master's house three days out of four, and in the Boxer manuscript (which spells it *hayoheyes*), they moved into their own house upon marriage and became *tuhey*—a word which literally means their payment in kind—and did not even continue further service if they produced enough offspring. However, what some authors called "whole slaves"—the four-generation *lubus nga oripun*, for instance—handed over the whole fruits of their labor. This stricture may have been the result of social breakdown under colonial domination, since a characteristic of Philippine slavery, otherwise universally reported, was the theoretical possibility of manumission through self-improvement. These variations no doubt illustrate different economic conditions, crops, markets and demands for labor, as well as individual datu's responses to them. They also illustrate a social mobility which ultimately embraces all three social classes.

Oripun were born into their social class just as *datus* and *timawa* were born into theirs. But their position within that class depended upon inherited or acquired debt, commuted criminal sentences or victimization by the more powerful—in the latter case they were said to be *lopot*, "marked, creased," or, as Alcina put it, "unjustly enslaved." Those in serious need might mortgage themselves to some *datu* for a loan, becoming *kabalangay* ("boat-mates?"), or might

attach themselves to a kinsman as bondsman, but debts could also be underwritten by anybody able and willing to do so. The *tumataban*, for example, whom Loarca calls "the most respected" slaves, could be bonded for six pesos, their creditor then enjoying five days of their labor per month. The status of *tumaranpok*, on the other hand, was reckoned at twelve pesos, for which four days' labor out of seven was rendered. (The labor performed for their masters was *tampok*, and that for themselves *tagolaling*, while *lan-o* were free work days granted at their master's discretion.) Both of these oripun occupied their own houses and maintained their own families, but their wives were also obligated to perform services if they already had children, namely, spinning and weaving cotton which their master supplied in the boll, one skein a month in the case of the *tumaranpok*. Either could commute these obligations to payment in palay: 15 cavans a year for the former, 30 for the latter. Thus a *tumataban*'s release from field labor was calculated at five *gantas* a day and a *tumaranpok*'s at three and a half. So, too, the creditor who underwrote a 12-peso *tumaranpok* debt received 208 days of labor a year, but one who invested in a six-peso *tumataban*, only 72. Since Loarca states that rice was produced in the hills in exchange for coastal products, such commutation enabled an uplander to discharge his obligations without coming down to till his master's fields. A coast dweller, on the other hand, had to be a man of considerable means to assume such a tribute-paying *pechero* role.

Another oripun condition was that of *horo-han* (probably *uluhan*, "at the head"). These performed lower-echelon military service in lieu of field labor, acting as *mangayaw* oarsmen or *magahat* "foot-soldiers," and their children took their place upon their death (but had no obligation prior to it). They were part of the public entertained and feasted during a *datu*'s ceremonial functions, where their presence moved the author of the Boxer manuscript to comment with tourist-like wonder, "They are taken into their houses when they give some feast or drunken revel to be received just like guests." The oripun called *gintobo*, *mamahay* or *johai* also participated in raids, though they received a smaller portion of the booty than *timawa*, and if they distinguished themselves regularly enough by bravery in action, they might attract a following of their own and actually become *datus*. They were also obliged to come at their *datus*' summons for such communal work as house-building, but did not perform field labor; instead, they paid *reconocimiento* (that is,

recognition-of-vassalage fee) in rice, textiles or other products. But, like the *timawa* above them and the indentured bondsmen and slaves below, they could not bequeath their property to their heirs: their *datus* shared it with them at his own pleasure. This arbitrary inheritance tax enabled a ruling *datu* to reward and ingratiate his favorites, and left others under threat of the sort of economic reversal which set downward social mobility in motion. A 12-peso debt could plunge a man into the depths of *ayuey* household slavery, with the high probability of transmitting that status to his offspring since any children born during his bondage became the property of his master.

Those *ayuey* were at the bottom of the *oripun* social scale in a society which must have been notable for its high incidence of debt. Hired hands were called *lihog*, but *palihog* meant to compensate simply by the day's meals. *Lito* was an *oripun* who had been frequently transferred from creditor to creditor for liquidated debts, and *horiwal* meant "restless—like a runaway slave who has one master today and another tomorrow." The *ayuey* were literally domestics who lived in their master's house and received their food and clothing from him, and were really chattels. As Loarca says, "Those whom the natives have sold to the Spaniards are *ayuey* for the most part." They either had no property of their own or only what they could accumulate by working for themselves one day out of four. They were generally field hands with the same manumission price as the *tumaranpok*, namely, 12 pesos, and their wives worked as domestic servants in their master's house if they were married. Usually they were single, however, but were given a separate house when they married and became *tuhey*, working two days out of five. Their wives continued to serve until they had children; then, if they had many, they and their husbands might be absolved of all further *ayuey* servitude and moved up the social scale.

First-generation *ayuey* were debtors, purchases, captives or poverty-stricken volunteers seeking security. Those who were enslaved in lieu of payment of fines were called *sirot*, which means "fine," and those seized for debts, or imputed debts, were *lupig*, "inferior, outclassed." The frequency of such imputed debts is implied by the definition of *malupig* in the Méndrida 1637 dictionary: "A violent man who makes slaves by force." Creditors were responsible for their debtors' obligations, so another route by which commoners were reduced to *ayuey* status was for their creditors to

cover some fine they had incurred. Purchases might be outright—adults or children in abject penury, for example—or by buying off somebody's debt, in which case the debtor became *gintubus*, "redeemed." Redeemed slaves or captives were *loas*, but alien captives were *bihag*, whether slave or not in their own society, and sharply to be distinguished from other *ayuey* because of their liability to serve as offerings in some human sacrifice. (Loarca notes approvingly, "They always see that this slave is an alien and not a native, for they really are not cruel at all.") It is not impossible that Spanish disruption of traditional slaving patterns produced an increase in domestic oppression on the part of these *datus* whom the Spaniards called *principales*. At least, Alcina comments: "They oppressed the poor and helpless and those who did not resist, even to the point of making them and their children slaves, [but] those who showed their fangs and claws and resisted were let go with as much as they wished to take because they were afraid of them." But, in any event and whatever their origin, first-generation *ayuey* all had one thing in common: they were the parents of the second-generation "true" slaves.

These "true" slaves, as distinguished from those commoners of varying degrees of servitude who were slaves in name only (*nomine tenus*, as Alcina says), were those born in their master's house. The children of purchased or hereditary slaves were called *hashai*. If both their parents were houseborn slaves like themselves, they were *ginlubus* (from *lubus*, "all one color, unvariegated"), and if they were the fourth generation of their kind, *lubus nga oripun*. But if only one of their parents was an *ayuey* of their status, they were "half-slaves" (*bulan* or *pikas*), and if three of their grandparents were non-slave commoners, they were "one-quarter slaves" (*tilor* or *sagipat*). The master of such a "partial" slave might pay him the balance to retain his services as a "full" slave, a transaction called *sapao*. "Whole slaves" might also be known as *bug-us* ("given totally") or *tuman* ("utmost, extreme"). But some of them were cherished and raised like their master's own children and suckled at the same breast, often being permitted to reside in their own house and usually being set free on their master's death. These were the *silin*, *sibin* or *ginogatan*.

Thus there was no given word for "slave" in the 16th-century Visayan society, but only a graduated series of terms running from the totally chattel *bihag* to the *horohan* commoner "at the head" in

the upper level of the oripun social order. And the initial step up this social ladder was the normal expectation of the houseborn ayuey at the bottom, for when his master married him off to another house-born ayuey, he was set up in his own house where he and his wife served both masters. Then when his children were born, they became slaves to both masters, too, but as soon as they grew up, he himself assumed *tumaranpok* status. Thus, as Visayan slaves moved upward into the dignity of vassalage, they left enough of their offspring behind to supply their master's needs.

The Tagalog Alipin

Luzon culture as described by Dr. Antonio de Morga and Father Francisco Plasencia in the last decade of the 16th century differed from the Visayan in at least three particulars: it enjoyed more extensive commerce, it had been influenced by Bornean political contacts, and it lived off irrigated rice. Spanish records of the first generation of the Conquest consistently refer to Tagalog business interests as exceeding those of the Visayans, which, on the testimony of tribute-collector Loarca, were hardly undeveloped. The Augustinian friar, Martín de Rada, attributed the absence of human sacrifice in the Manila area to the fact that Tagalogs were "more traders than warriors," and Legazpi found Philippine internal trade dominated, or monopolized, by ships from Borneo and Luzon, which the Visayans called "Chinese" because of the origin of their wares. Rice was grown under controlled irrigation in Pampanga, and in such deep water along the shores of Laguna de Bay that it was harvested from boats; and the San Buenaventura 1613 Tagalog dictionary lists 13 terms for rice and six for "transplant," and gives a detailed description of the process. This last consideration alone would be enough to account for three constant references in the descriptions of Tagalog social structure missing from the Visayan accounts—those to land use, inheritance and universal field labor.

Rulers of Tagalog communities were called *datu*s but the social class to which they belonged was *maginoo*. Their supporters in the second class, bound to them by client-patron contract rather than debt or inheritance, were of two kinds—*timawa* and *maharlika*. The *timawa* rendered labor—in the fields, or at oars or fishnets—or a portion of their crops, and absorbed manumitted members from the

third class below and the genetic overflow from secondary wives in the first class above. The *maharlika*, however, were a birthright aristocracy that supplied seafaring military services, but in at least some places—Pila, Laguna, for example—they also paid agricultural tribute. Both the *maharlika* and *timawa* had the right to attach themselves to the overlord of their choice. But a *datu* had the right to call out all his manpower—*maharlika*, *timawa* and *alipin* alike—to plant or harvest his fields, or to roof his house. The *alipin* constituted the lowest class—or lowest two classes according to a refinement by Father Plasencia.

An *alipin* was a man in debt to another man. His subordination was therefore obligatory, not contractual: the other man was technically his creditor rather than his lord, and might be a *maginoo*, *maharlika*, *timawa* or another *alipin*. The *alipin* had birthright claim to work a piece of community land which could not be taken away from him or he from it, except in the case of a commuted death sentence by which he became a chattel slave. The *alipin* might be born as such—in which case he was called *gintubo*—but what he really inherited from his parents was their debt, indenture or sentence. Although he could not be legally seized or sold, his debt could be transferred from one creditor to another for profit and to his detriment. For this reason, a man who fell into debt sought to become *alipin* to one of his own relatives if possible. As a matter of fact, men in extreme penury might voluntarily seek the security of *alipin* status, that is, be *napaaalipin* as opposed to *naaalipin*. Since the degree of *alipin* indebtedness could vary, when that debt was passed on to heirs it also varied according to the mother's status and, indeed, according to the debts either parent had inherited from preceding generations. For example, if *alipin* and *timawa* married, their offspring would be only half *alipin*; or if an *alipin* had three non-*alipin* grandparents, he would be only one-quarter *alipin*—social conditions referred to by such expressions as "half slave" and "quarter slave." What this meant in practical terms was that such *alipin* only worked off half their father's, or one-fourth their grandfather's indebtedness, and only during alternate months. Such partial *alipin*, moreover, had the right to enforce their manumission if they could afford the price.

The normal *alipin* with land rights was called *namamahay* (householder), and one who had lost that right, *alipin sa gigilid* (hearth slave), a category which also included those who never

had such a right in the first place, namely, captives or purchases. The Spanish accounts never actually describe the role of alipin, but only the separate roles of alipin namamahay and alipin sa gigilid. On the face of it, the only recorded feature which distinguished the rice-farming alipin householder from the rice-farming timawa "freeman" was probably largely theoretical—the right to change masters at will. If, on the other hand, the distinction was really functional, the former would have been a "serf" and the latter a "tenant." In addition to these alipin, the Boxer manuscript makes the curious remark that there was a kind of slave of both namamahay and gigilid status called *tagalos*. If this is not a flat error, it may have been data obtained from some informant of Bornean descent, and may thus reflect an attitude based on a former relationship between the two peoples.

Alipin Namamahay

Spanish accounts consistently translate alipin as "slave," but their authors just as consistently deplore the illogic of including the *namamahay* in the same category as the *gigid*, or even in the category of *esclavo* at all. That a gigilid—or at least some gigilid—were chattel house slaves "like those we have," as Morga said, was obvious, but it was just as obvious that the serf-like namamahay were not. One of the longest entries in the San Buenaventura dictionary belabors the point, and includes the following passage:

These namamahay slaves in Silanga, which is on the way to Giling-giling from Lumban, make one field called *tongo*, and it is to be noted that they have no further obligation to their master; in Pila, Bay, Pililla and Morong, they are almost free for they serve their master no more than from time to time, and they say he almost has to beg them to go with him to other places or to help him with something, the same as he does with the freemen; in all the hills as far as Calaylayan, they serve their master from time to time if he calls them, but if he calls them too often it's considered an abuse.

The Franciscan friar, Francisco Plasencia, writing about the lake district east of Manila in 1589, solved the problem directly and

sensibly; he called them *pecheros* (tribute-payers). The *pecho* they paid was called *buwis* and amounted to half their crop, and the one who paid it was called *nunuwis*. Or his lord might agree to a fixed fee of four cavans of palay a year instead, the same rate the Datu of Pila was charging his maharlika for their land use at that time. In addition, he was expected to present a measure of threshed rice or a jar of wine for his master's feasts or funerals, and generally a share of any special foodstuffs he might acquire for himself—the leg of a deer taken in the hunt, for example. Like everybody else, he came at his master's call to plant and harvest his fields, build his houses, carry his cargo, equip his boat, and row it when he went abroad—not as a warrior but as an oarsman, unless relieved of this status as an accolade for bravery—and in any emergency such as his master's being sick, captured or flooded out. He owned his own house, possessions and gold, and bequeathed them to his heirs, but his ownership of the land he used was restricted: he could not alienate it. If his master moved out of the settlement, he continued to serve him as a kind of absentee landlord, and if his master died, he was obligated to all his heirs, and had to divide his services among them. Upon his own death, his creditor had the right to take one of his children for *gigid* domestic service in his own house, but if he took more, he was considered a tyrant.

A man entered *namamahay* status by three routes: inheritance from namamahay parents, dropping down from the second class, or rising up from *gigid* status. If his debt stemmed from legal action or insolvency, he and his creditor agreed about the duration of the bondage and an equivalent cash value for its satisfaction. In Father Plasencia's day this never exceeded ten taels of gold, or roughly the market value of 320 cavans of rice at Manila prices. This custom continued under the Spanish occupation and so exercised the friars' consciences that their theologians argued the fine points of its morality for a century. (How long could a man justly be indentured for such-and-such a debt? At what age did a child handed over for its father's debts become productive enough to be reckoned an asset rather than a liability?) Those who had risen from the ranks of the *gigid* hearth slaves might actually have purchased their freedom, but mainly they were transferred to namamahay householding when they married, for their master's own convenience. Namamahay—from *bahay*, house—is the ordinary term for living in a house of your own. (A sermon by Father Blancas de San Jose says a father

doesn't worry about a son who is independent and living in his own house—*anak ay namamahay na*.) For this reason it also seems likely—though the Spanish sources do not say so—that captives and purchased slaves may have been set up in namamahay housekeeping status from the beginning. Indeed, the experience of all those Spanish captives suggests even a *bihag* could wind up a timawa.

Alipin sa Gigilid

Gilid is the "innermost [or nethermost] part of the house where the hearth is," and the use of the term to distinguish a kind of alipin calls attention to the typical place of their service—or, perhaps, conception. They were members of their master's household who, unlike namamahay householders, ate out of their master's pot. They were as dependent upon him as his own children, and from this circumstance arose his moral right to sell them. In actual practice, however, he rarely did. He might transfer them to some other creditor, but raw material for the slave trade or human sacrifice was not procured from the household, or even from the alipin labor pool which implemented a datu's public and private projects. Quite the opposite, they might be rewarded at their master's pleasure—or his hope of motivating them—by being permitted to retain some of the fruits of their labor, even to the extent of eventually purchasing their liberty. Indeed, if they could accumulate enough gold—say, through the trade of goldsmith or participating in raids—they could buy their way not only into namamahay status, but even timawa. (Juan Francisco de San Antonio, reporting the old 30-peso manumission price 130 years later, comments, "And if he gave sixty or more, he was free of everything and became an *hidalgo*.")

The main sources of alipin sa gigilid recruitment were the children born in their master's house, not infrequently natural children by his own alipin of either status, or children of men under commuted death sentence mortgaged to somebody who could afford to raise them, thus preserving the liberty of the father to support the rest. Once a hearth slave grew up, however, it was more practical—and profitable—to set him up in his own house instead of feeding and housing him and his new family. All the accounts distinguish the namamahay not only as having his own house separate from his master's, but as being married and having

his own family. The author of the Boxer manuscript described the situation as follows:

His master can sell him because none of these slaves who are in their master's house are married, but all maidens and bachelors, and in the case of a male who wishes to marry, the chief does not lose him; and such a one is called namamahay when married, and then lives by himself, but rarely would they give the [female] slaves who were in the chief's houses permission to marry, though they would hinder none of the men.

The terms gigilid and namamahay, therefore, more accurately distinguished a man's residence than his economic status, and were incidental to a sliding scale of downward social mobility occasioned by punitive disfranchisement and economic reversal. The condemned man's debt to society or fiscal creditor could be underwritten by some other man motivated by kin loyalty or hope of gain. If both were alipin and neighbors and relatives, their new relationship might have been no more visible than a redistribution of their labor. But the social stigma was considerable, for the gigilid of a namamahay was called by the insulting term *bulisik*, "vile" or "despicable." Still worse, the poor wretch who became gigilid of a gigilid of a namamahay was branded *bulislis*, "exposed," like the private parts when one's dress is hitched up—a term which might have reflected a relationship between master and slave.

Slaves purchased from outside the community, and captives taken in war or raids, were also counted among the gigilid and might be real chattel without even the security of the parental affection of some master in whose house they grew up. If they were destined for resale or sacrifice, they might have been temporarily employed—as field hands, for example—but would literally be non-persons in society. But if they were brought into the community as functioning alipin, they would perforce enjoy the right of food, shelter and work of other alipin. Their children would then be born into society not as aliens but as *gintubo*, "children of alipin," and as such be eligible for whatever upward social mobility fortune might offer them.

Confusion of the two kinds of alipin status was brought to Spanish attention by an ill-fated attempt to replace Filipino concepts of slavery with Christian concepts of slavery. Most contemporary

sources attribute the confusion to a combination of Filipino cupidity and Spanish ignorance, the former using the latter for their own purposes. Typical is the following entry in the San Buenaventura dictionary:

Gintubo: [slavery] inherited from one to another; this is the first kind of slaves. *Nagakagintubo*: slaves of this kind. *Gintubo ni ama*: "My father inherited it"; this the Filipinos say before the judges, and those who do not know the significance of the word judge the slaves to be sa gigilid, so it should be noted that under this name, *gintubo*, the two kinds which follow [viz., *gigilid* and *namamahay*] are covered, and they should not say that *gintubo* is a *gigilid* since it also includes the *namamahay*.

But the real source of the confusion appears to be deeper than mere Spanish ignorance: the categories of *namamahay* and *gigilid* actually appear to have been dysfunctional at the time they were first described by Spanish observers.

The categories as described would have been fully functional only in a society in which real slavery was limited to domestic service and slaves therefore lived in their master's houses—like Visayan *ayuey*—and men were born *alipin* but not *alipin namamahay* or *alipin sa gigilid*. *Gintubo*, the birthright status of such *alipin* commoners, would then serve to distinguish the operative core of the class from social transients or newcomers who had not yet learned their role. But the Tagalog *namamahay*, unlike the Visayan *tuey*, had no *alipin* above him with *oripun* status like *tumaranpok* or *gintubus*: these socio-economic slots were being filled by *timawa* descending from above. That these conditions were the result of changes actually taking place in Tagalog society in the late 16th century is suggested by the following passage in the Boxer manuscript:

If they have many children, when many have been taken and he takes more, they consider it a tyrannical abuse, and once those who are leaving the chief's house to marry leave, they do not return to render him any more service than the *namamahay* do, unless he uses force, and this they consider a worse tyranny inasmuch as they were given permission to leave his house and he makes them return to it; and these slaves inherited these customs from their ancestors.

A nice assessment of this social structure is provided by Father Juan Oliver in a hortatory exposition of the Ten Commandments intended for the Tagalog faithful of Batangas in 1590. Addressing his listeners as *Maginoo*, he asks rhetorically what rich man with many *alipin* would not get angry if they did not obey him (How much more so God!); and does that man not have the duty to order them what to do and teach them what is right? After all, it is he who "took them in"—*inalila* (San Buenaventura: "*Alila*: to take care of something, like the sick, or some other thing, such as the shepherd his sheep"). But outright enslavement is inveighed against under the sin of usury: how many *maharlika* have been thus enslaved (*inaalipin*) these days! That is why God likens men to the fishes in the sea, the larger gobbling up the smaller. But the householding *alipin* is mentioned under the commandment to keep the Sabbath holy: just as the *alipin namamahay* and his master divide his working days alternately between them, fifty-fifty, so the infinitely more generous overlordship of God divides labor in man's favor, six to one.

Conclusions

In a 1668 attempt to reconstruct prehispanic Visayan social structure, Jesuit Father Francisco Alcina devoted four chapters of his *Historia* to a consideration of the concepts of nobility, bondage and slavery. Although he listed more than a dozen Filipino terms for such social roles, none of them were really the equivalent of nobleman, bondsman or slave. All of them, however, could have been assigned to one of two categories—*oripun* or non-*oripun*—a division which makes clear the fact that the former were the majority population and the latter the exceptions. These exceptions, in turn, were distinguished by relationships among themselves. *Datus* were primary birthright rulers; *tumao* were collateral or subordinate rulers recognized or invested by the former; and *timawa* were members of a warrior elite attached by personal fealty to a given ruler. (In Alcina's day, the *timawa* were functioning "commoners," but the Visayans still fondly recalled them as the lowest rank of a pre-Conquest aristocracy.) The members of this non-*oripun* elite ruled, administered, fought or traded according to their roles and opportunities, but they all had one thing in common—they did not grow their own rice.

Oripun were the basic producers in society. By their labor in fields, forests and fishing grounds they produced foodstuffs for local consumption or exchange in domestic markets, and by their exploitation of natural resources and handicrafts, they produced the export products marketed by non-oripun. Their varying conditions were distinguished in the Visayan vocabulary by a series of terms not in complementary distribution. Some indicated degree of servitude—that is, the proportion of produce or productive labor expropriated by another person. Thus ayuey and tuhey distinguished different divisions of labor by which the most totally indentured met their obligations, while *tumaranpok* and *tumataban* specified not only the value of the indenture but alternate methods for working or paying it off. Terms like *sirot*, *tobus* and *bihag*, on the other hand, indicated the route by which the servitude was entered—penal conviction, liquidated debts or outright seizure, respectively. And some terms referred to a particular role or status which did not parallel any of the other distinctions. *Sandil*, for instance, a concubine or secondary wife, or *silin*, a fostered child, indicated captives who shared the privileges of a non-oripun master. And *atubang* ("face-to-face") was a kind of alter-ego to a datu described either as a minister who exercised his authority, or a personal companion who expected to follow him into the grave.

The popular understanding of the word "slave" in modern European languages, though not so defined in standard dictionaries, is that of a person owned by another person—that is, who can be legally purchased, rented, mortgaged, alienated or bequeathed like private property—a condition the United States Constitution delicately refers to as "held to Service or Labor." There appears to be no such word in any Philippine language, though Filipinos in more than one named category might find themselves in this condition. Liability to sale, for example, was incidental not essential to recognized conditions of debt and obligation, not excluding that of a child to its parents. When the last survivor of the Magellan expedition was transferred from the Philippines he was *vendido* in Spanish terms, "sold"; but when he moved on to Portuguese Malacca, he was *rescatado*, "ransomed." This is a distinction classic Philippine culture did not make: the man would have been equally indebted to whoever handed over his worth in gold. Such indebtedness was a normal function of Filipino social obligation, and such debtors could expect increased security from their creditors' protection. What happened

to Magellan's survivor could have happened to any captive, various kinds of oripun, or the child of an impecunious parent seeking to better his own or his child's condition. But had it happened to all of them, there would have been no single term applicable to all. There was, therefore, no such simple category as slavery distinguished in prehispanic Filipino society.

But if the Visayan oripun and Tagalog alipin therefore did not constitute a slave class, what class did they constitute? Friar jurists for a while considered the category of "unnatural slavery" as distinct from that European slavery which was presumably "natural" to domestics of other races who had been captured in "just wars" or sold by their "natural lords." Yet the fact that the oripun only served his master part-time mitigated against any European concept of slavery at all. Neither were they serfs bound to the soil since they were clearly bound to other men, and in Spain serfdom was called *servidumbre real* ("royal servitude") precisely to distinguish it from *servidumbre personal*, or slavery. The oripun or alipin had no class equivalent in any 16th-century European society.

Nowadays, however, the progressive economist or social scientist might label their class. Noting that they supported a sea-raiding elite with pretensions to royalty and personal interests in maritime trade, he would recognize them as "the masses." The Visayan oripun and Tagalog alipin, in short, were the Filipino people.

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LOST VISAYAN LITERATURE

It is most unfortunate but not particularly surprising that no prehispanic Visayan literature has survived. Filipinos did not use their alphabet for literary composition, and friar ethnographers did not record oral literature. The recording and preservation of the spoken word has historically been associated with a priestly or secretarial caste serving the needs of royal courts or state administrations. And the very concept of oral literature would have seemed like a contradiction in terms to any European scholar before the introduction of folklore studies in the 19th century.

The well-known Boxer Codex of the early 1590's, written by one of the Governors Dasmariñas or by somebody who traveled in their company, states unambiguously that Filipinos only used their script for letters and messages. Father Pedro Chirino says the same thing in his 1604 *Relación*, and his testimony is especially weighty since he was a sympathetic observer of Philippine customs who thought Visayan tattoos were handsome, admired Visayans' ability to carry their liquor, and would certainly have been pleased to mention any bark or bamboo records or books. On the other hand, the Tondo datu conspiring against Spanish occupation in 1587 communicated in writing, and a Bikol chief named Panpanga sent his brother Antonio Simaon in Manila a scathing letter in 1595 about conquistador misconduct. The Boxer Codex also gives reason to suspect the existence of written charms (*anting-anting*?) Perhaps these were among the "instruments" for practicing the native religion that Spanish missionaries were so fond of collecting and burning, or persuading their converts to collect and burn.

It was Chirino who first stated that it was a rare Filipino or Filipina who could not read and write, an opinion repeated by his Jesuit brothers Francisco Colín and Francisco Alcina in the next century. That this is a fond exaggeration is indicated by a number of Spanish documents containing notarial statements that the litigants did not sign because they did not know how to. When Bartolome

Alison and Andres Duarte donated land to the Franciscan hospital at Los Baños in 1608, they asked Juan Mabinit and Miguel de Silva—a Spaniard, no less—to sign the title deed in their stead. It is palaeography's loss that Filipinos affixing their signatures to 16th-century legal documents only signed the original, so that surviving copies that were sent to Spain do not contain them. Even when Quiapo chief Miguel Banal made an appeal to the King in 1609, it was only the Spanish translation that was forwarded to Madrid. Ironically, the only surviving native documents from the Philippines in the Archives of the Indies is one Sultan Adil Sula of Brunei wrote to Governor Francisco de Tello in 1599, which probably survived because the translation happens to be on the back of the letter itself, which is written in elegant Arabic calligraphy.

Literacy came late to the Visayans. Both Colín and Alcina thought in the 1660's that it had been received from the Tagalogs only a few years before the arrival of the Spaniards. Actually, it seems to have come a little later. Antonio Pigafetta said that Rajah Kolambu of Limawasa was amazed to see writing for the first time in 1521; Miguel Loarca said the "Pintados" had no writing at all in 1582; and when Legazpi's royal notary took the sworn testimony of a number of Visayans and Borneans in Bohol in 1565—including the famous Si Katuna—none of them were able to sign their names. As it happens, the only known specimens of Visayan penmanship today are the signatures of Bernardino Dimabasa and Maria Mutia of Bantay Island which appear in their 1647 divorce proceedings. In Alcina's day it was assumed that Philippine literacy was ultimately derived from non-Filipino Muslims because the first literate Filipinos the Spaniards encountered were the Muslim rulers of Manila. Thus the Visayans referred to the Philippine script as "Moro writing," perhaps with a smug sense of Christian satisfaction.

But Visayan oral literature was well-developed, sophisticated, and ubiquitous in Visayan life, and it was created and presented by artists rewarded for their skill. This is amply shown by dictionaries and descriptions from the early 17th century—Alonso Métrida's 1637 *Diccionario de la Lengua Bisaya, Hiligueina y Haraya de la Isla de Panai*, Mateo Sánchez's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* written in Dagami, Leyte, between 1615 and 1618, and Francisco Alcina's monumental 1668 "Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas." Part of Father Alcina's survey of Visayan culture has been published with an English translation in *Philippiniana Sacra* (1978-1985), including

a chapter entitled, "Concerning the alphabet and manner of writing of the Bisayans [and] the various and particular types of poetry in which they take pride." In addition, incidental references and a few direct quotations are scattered through other chapters, as well as a full summary of what must have been an actual epic.

There is no evidence of any prose literature, but ordinary Visayan speech was itself rich with metaphor and colorful imagery, and their poetry must have been even more so. A high proportion of the dictionary terms have both a literal and figurative meaning, and a wide selection of pejorative terms to apply to common objects when angry. Men, women and children are referred to by the names of birds and animals they resemble in appearance or behavior, or trees and baskets whose shapes they share. The well-dressed are like the brilliant *kakanog* butterfly, the red-faced like *dapdap* blossoms, and a *timawa* commoner who is treated like a datu is *timinduk*—a big banana. Conversely, *kusi* parrots come in three kinds: the little green ones are slaves, green ones with red breasts are *timawa*, and the real beauties with red and green plumage all over are *datos*. Somebody who is articulate and talkative is likened to luxuriant foliage, while one who speaks ill of his own relatives is like a big bat—because these creatures are believed to defecate in their own face when hanging upside-down. A man who goes unpaid for his labor is an empty honeycomb, and one who buckles down and overcomes some difficulty is a *gahuk*, digging stick, the Visayan equivalent of a plow. An untattooed man is called plain white, undecorated teeth, a slice of coconut meat, and foreheads not sufficiently flattened by headbinding as a baby, bulging or overstuffed. Finally, a tired oarsman calls his oar a *kabkab* when irritated—the heart-shaped leaf of the *malu-ibon* vine—and a cat is called *musankay* or *mosaraw* in such sentences as "Damned cat stole my food again!"

Naturally, formal poetry had a special vocabulary of its own. *Handoy*, for example, was the poetic term for damsel, and slaves were called *guhay* in epics and eulogies. But the essence of Visayan poetic skill lay not so much in a command of vocabulary as in the ability to use words figuratively to create subtle images. Father Alcina says:

In their poetry, even if not with the variety of rhyme schemes and meters of ours though they do have their own rhymes

somewhat different from ours, they no doubt excel us, for the language they use in their poems, even most of the words, is very different from what they use in common everyday speech, so much so that there are very few Europeans who understand their poems or rimes when they hear them, even if they are very good linguists and know a lot of Visayan, because, besides the words and meanings which they use in verse being so different, even when using the ordinary words they sometimes apply to their courtesies, what they say in verse is so figurative that everything is the subtlest metaphor, and for one who doesn't know and understand them, it is impossible to understand them in it.

To this may be added that less sophisticated Visayans were also unable to follow "deep" poetry, and that when lovers sang to each other, their words became mere symbols that were understood by nobody but the two of them.

All this poetry was generally sung or chanted rather than recited, so our sources include songs in the same category as poems. Even real songs—that is, melodies with lyrics—were poetic rather than musical compositions: the singer set his words to common tunes known to all. For community respect, a man must be able to participate in the spontaneous versifying that accompanied social gatherings, and for peer acceptance, youths had to compete in amatory jousts. The really skillful were practically professionals: they were eagerly sought after for weddings and prestige feasts and were rewarded not only with ample food, drink and public acclaim, but with a payment called *bakayaw*. Many were said to be more articulate in verse than in ordinary conversation, and all were able to perform for hours at a time, even whole days or nights, "without dropping a syllable or fumbling a word," Alcina says. Funerals, on the other hand, called for female eulogists able to improvise dirges which combined grief and laud, while slave-raiding caracoa required the services of a master singer intoning sea chanteys to keep the oarsmen in stroke.

The simplest form of verse, popular among children and adults of both sexes, was the *ambahan*, which used the ordinary vocabulary though often figuratively. It consisted of an unrhymed seven-syllable couplet which had to contain a complete thought—like a Greek distich—whose two lines could be interchanged and still make sense.

Some singers composed their own words, others repeated well-known verses, and listeners could join in by repeating the couplet, either as sung or inverted. The ambahan form was also used in the balak, a poetic debate between a man and a woman on the subject of love. They might also accompany themselves with musical instruments—the man on a kind of bamboo lyre called a *korlong*, the woman on the well-known two-stringed *kudyapi*—but in either case they used many subtleties of speech which not everybody understood. The *bikal* was another kind of contest which used the ambahan form, a poetic joust between two men or two women in which they satirized each other's physical or moral shortcomings, but were expected to harbor no hard feelings afterwards. They could continue without pause for an hour or two, encouraged by raucous laughter and occasional help from the sidelines. Since the ambahan was a verse form almost as demanding as a Japanese haiku, its wide currency suggests an extremely poetic populace.

It is strange that although the Mentrída dictionary describes the Panay ambahan in the same terms as Alcina, the word does not appear in the Sanchez Leyte-Samar vocabulary. Did Father Sanchez miss this important term despite his thorough coverage of the other literary forms—or was the ambahan introduced into the eastern Visayas during the half century between him and Father Alcina? The same question occurs about the Juan Pusong tales. Mentrída defines posong as "To trick others by taking or stealing something from somebody and selling it back to them, or giving it to them to eat; hence, Posong, the fool in the *comedia*"—and the San Buenaventura Tagalog dictionary adds, "They don't consider him a good one unless he's impudent and gets pummeled, which makes them laugh loudly." But Sanchez doesn't include the term, and Alcina recounts the tale of a giant Pusong who, far from being a fool, was a terrible raider who preyed on the towns north of Borongan until he was finally trapped by his victims or done in by a kind of elfs called *bongan* who swarmed all over him like ants.

Awit was the general term for singing and a *paraawit* was an expert "considered a professional singer," Sanchez says, "like a leader whom the others follow." *Biyaw* was to sing solo, while a *mamaratbat* was the precentor who set the tune and beat by singing a couplet, to which the others—*mananabat*—responded in chorus, *batbat* meaning to beat metal flat. *Bagaw* or *dagaw* was for two or more singers to reinforce or complement each other in male drink-

feasts, during which *daihuan* might be sung—songs in which drinkers made fun of one of their fellows. The narrative content of these songs was called *biriyawan*—tales or fables—or *karanduun* if it was of epic length and loftiness. And *hiya* or *hele* was the shout of men putting their shoulders to a common task like dragging a log or rowing a boat, whence sea chanteys were called *otohele*.

When distinguishing different types of song, however, *awit* was used as a specific term for sea chanteys, which were called *hilimbannganon* in Panay. The cantor, pulling an oar himself—a paddle, actually—would lead off with an unrhymed couplet and the whole crew would respond in a heavy beat with a refrain (*hotlo*) like "Hod-lo, he-le, hi-ya, he-le!" The lines themselves were relieved of ambahan-like strictness by poetic license to transfer a final syllable to the next line, but as in most Visayan verse, figurative speech difficult to follow was admired. A good *paraawit* or *parahele* had a wide repertoire of tunes with different tempos, some of them handed down from generation to generation by fathers teaching their sons. The content of these sea chanteys, if not their actual wording, was also handed down from ancestral times and so perpetuated and promulgated Visayan traditions and values. More than one Spanish observer, commenting on the lack of written records, said that Filipino history and beliefs were preserved in the songs they heard while rowing boats.

Sabi was the general term for poetry or song in Panay, especially that with a chorus responding to a precentor, but might also refer specifically to *handum* or *bat-ar*. *Handum* was to recall somebody departed with affectionate praise—"like a good minister or alcalde mayor," Father Mentrída remarks rather fondly—and *bat-ar* was a dirge or eulogy addressed to the deceased at a wake. Dirges in Leyte and Samar were called *haya* (from *tihaya*, to be face-up like a corpse or a canoe carried on the shoulder), and female *parahaya* were hired to sing mournful tunes which evoked shrieks of grief from the widowed and relatives present. *Haya* were also called *anogon* or *canogon*—"Alas! Woe is me!"—and since they not only praised the dead but petitioned him directly for supernatural favor, the missionary fathers took a dim view of their performance. As Father Sanchez says, "Canogon is also to bewail the deceased and is like paying him an honor, or better said, to sing something which should be prohibited because in the singing they invoke the deceased and the diwata."

The noblest literary form was the *siday* or *kandu*. This was the most difficult of all—long, sustained, repetitious, and heavy with metaphor and allusion. A single one might take six hours to sing or the whole night through, or even be continued the next night, during which rapt audiences neither yawned nor nodded, though the frequent repetition of long lines with only the variation of a few words struck Spanish listeners as tiresome. Subject matter was the heroic exploits of ancestors, the valor of warriors or the beauty of women, or even the exaltation of heroes still living. Father Alcina records the summary of one or two of them with tantalizing brevity, like the following from the Pacific coast of Samar he knew as Ibabao.

Kabungaw and Bubung Ginbuna

On the coast of Ibabao were two celebrated lovers, the man called Kabungaw and the woman Bubung Ginbuna. Before they were married, these two had been in love for a long time, and once when he had to go on a certain rather long voyage, accompanied by others who were setting out on a *pangayaw* raid, he left instructions with his sweetheart that she should go straight to his parents' house to get whatever she needed for her comfort. (He only had a mother or sister then since his father had already died.) She went one time when she had to get a little abaca to weave clothes for her lover, but was so ill received by her swain's mother and his sister, who was called Halinai, that after abusing her by word, they did not give her what she had come to get, so she went back displeased and determined not to return there or be seen by her lover again. He learned this as soon as he returned and asked if she had requested anything, and the bad sendoff she had been given instead, so after much brooding, he refused to go up into his house until he learned where and with whom his lady was living.

He did many things and particular deeds (which I am not putting down so as not to be too long-winded) until he learned that she was on a little island where she had fled with her slaves. He was almost drowned the times he went in search of her and escaped only by means of supernatural aid, until on the third attempt he reached there, and pretended to be dead near the house where she was living, until he was recognized by a slave

who reported it to his lady. She went down drawn by love, and in her presence he recovered the life he pretended to have lost in her absence, and both rejoicing, they were married. They remained there as lords of that little island, which they called Natunawan in allusion to the love they had felt on first sight, because *natunawan* means that they melted together with happiness, or Nawadan, which means "lost steps." There, they say, not only men followed them from the mainland, but even plants, attracted by the goodness of the land and the good reception from those settlers.

The reason why the story of Kabungaw and Ginbuna is so badly truncated is that it appears in a chapter entitled, "Of the troubles which some famous princesses made in their antiquity to get married [and] the efforts of men to abduct others." Thus the whole meat of what must have been an epic-length tale has been excised as being of no service to Alcina's purpose—all those adventures which form the flesh of Philippine epics that he didn't put down so as not to be too long-winded, those heroic deeds, shipwrecks and drownings, the intervention of supernatural beings, and the flight to distant lands to live happily ever after. Moreover, the incident of Kabungaw's pretending to be dead sounds suspiciously like a modernization in Alcina's own day, since the magical revival of dead heroes by their wives or sweethearts is a common climax to Mindanao epics.

The *siday* or *kandu* must have been what Philippine folklorists nowadays call an epic. The epic as a literary form is thought to have originated in tribal bards regaling a band of warriors gathered around a campfire with tales that glorified approved standards of male conduct. These warriors historically fought hand-to-hand in cattle raids which were eventually recast as the rescue of abducted wives in great epics like the *Iliad* and the *Mahabharata*. In the societies that produced Philippine epics, however, power and prestige were not based on the ownership of herds of cattle but on the control of slave labor. Thus, Visayan heroes who were celebrated as *karanduun*—that is, worthy of *kandu* acclaim—would have won their reputations in real life on slave raids called *pangayaw*. So normative were these raids that one *kandu* says of the heroine, "You raid with your eyes and capture many, and with only a glance you take more prisoners than raiders do with their *pangayaw*."

Father Alcina lived during the twilight of this classic Visayan

culture and recorded it with a surprising lack of prejudice. It is the background against which Visayan epic literature must be seen. In his day, Bohol raids as far afield as Ternate were still living memories, and he knew Samar parishioners who were the descendants of captives taken on the coasts of Luzon. Datos of high rank demanded brides of equal rank and if they could not obtain them locally, kidnapped them from other communities, though, as Alcina says, "their fathers-in-law would be reconciled afterwards when they saw their grandchildren and were brought ladies in return to marry their sons and relatives." Raiders even came from Jolo and Mindanao on such missions, and he attributed the similarity between Visayan and certain Mindanao languages to this intermarriage. And, of course, he lived before the modern myth of slave-raiding as a Muslim monopoly—a rather silly myth at best. Slaving, after all, is a commerce that responds to market pressures, not religious scruples. All the monarchs Alcina served made contracts with commercial slavers to supply their American colonies with African labor, and collected import duties on this human merchandise.

Alcina concludes his section on courtship patterns among Visayan aristocrats by telling the kanda of Datung Sumanga and Bugbung Humasanun, that princess who captured men with her eyes. He says he is presenting it in a faithful translation, but what he presents is obviously a mere summary or scenario. A fleeting glimpse of one line, however, is incidentally preserved in his chapter on warfare: "The captives he took on land were 70, and 50 of those who were as weak and delicate as women so they led them by the hand, and those taken at sea were 100, so that they were 220 in all, not counting the rest of the booty and prizes." But even in its abbreviated outline, it is possible to recognize stylistic features common to well-known Mindanao epics like the Darangen, Ulahingon or Agyu, and so to get some sense of what the original epic must have sounded like. Only the ending seems to be deviant: the hero sets out to storm heaven itself, fails to do so, comes home empty-handed, but then claims his bride, a denouement told in Alcina's version with inappropriate irony.

These epics are characterized by highly repetitious plots: battle follows battle with only minor variations, and voyage after voyage by sea or air in search of a kidnapped princess or some hidden treasure. In Alcina's resume, Datung Sumanga's six forays are given only a sentence or two apiece, but if this kanda took all night to sing,

they must have included details like the hero's flashing gold teeth and magic sword or gong obtained from deities in a many-layered heaven, and the magnificent plumage at prow and stern of ships miraculously propelled by guardian spirits rather than oars of sails.

Another characteristic is the amount of space given to betelnut. The datu's followers turn the ground as bloody as a battlefield with their spittle, demigods chew *bonga* of pure gold, ladies make their appearance preparing quids for their menfolk and serving them ceremoniously, and lovers seal their commitment by exchanging them partially masticated. Heroines are royal princesses secluded as inaccessible *binokot* in their chambers, where they are found spinning, weaving or embroidering their princes' clothes, and they are esteemed for such skills as well as for their beauty, a beauty crowned with a great mass of hair embellished with artificial switches which it is a great offence for a man even to touch. And a good Philippine epic ends with a colorful description of the lavish wedding feast in which its protagonists join to display their wealth and magnanimity.

Alcina's summary of one such classic composition, however abbreviated, is probably as close as we will come to recovering an example of ancient Visayan literature—the lost epic of Datung Sumanga and Bugbung Humasanun.

Datung Sumanga and Bugbung Humasanun

There was, so says the singer, a princess in the island of Bohol of great repute and fame called Bugbung Humasanun, the most renowned among all the beauties and of the greatest fame for her talent among all the damsels, so secluded and enclosed in her chamber that nobody ever saw her except by sheerest chance. Her visage was like the sun when it spreads its first rays over the world or like a sudden flash of lightning, the one causing great fear and respect, the other, joy and delight. A great chief desirous of marrying her called Datung Sumanga one day arrived below her house and, giving a salute, asked for the said princess without going up by calling out her name and surname and the other names which she had been given for her beauty. Irritated by his call, and either really angry or pretending to be, she sent a maid to ask who he was, and learning his name, acted angrier still that the courtesy had not been shown according to their

custom, and replied, why had he come in person? Had he no negroes to command or slaves to send, perhaps not even someone he esteemed like a son whom he trusted as faithful and could send as a friend? So, without replying or speaking a single word, the chief had to go right off rebuffed.

Selecting a negro slave, he ordered him to go as intermediary and ask that princess for *buyos*, and told him not to come back without them. The negro go-between went with his message and asked for the *buyos* in his master's name, repeating the words of courtesy and praise which were customarily most polite. To this she responded with the same courtesy, saying that she had neither *bonga* to put in the *buyos* nor leaves to make them, for the *bonga* which she used came from where the sun rose and the leaves which she added from where it set. And she said nothing more.

When her reply was received by the suitor chief, he immediately ordered his slaves to embark and go and search, some to the east for the *bonga*, and others to the west for the leaves, just as the princess had asked for them. This they did at once, and the same one who had brought the message was sent back with them, and handed them over and asked her to make the *buyos* for his lord. To this the lady replied that she could not make them because she had no lime, since her lime was only found in a certain distant and isolated island. With only this reply he returned. So the datu immediately ordered ships launched at sea and sent them flying to find the lime in the place indicated. This the slaves carried out promptly, and returned with all speed and delivered the lime, which the same experienced messenger took at once and gave to the lady on behalf of his master, asking her for those *buyos*. Her response was that she was not about to make them until his master went in person to Tandag town on the coast of Caraga and made a *mangayaw* raid there and brought her those he captured.

So he started out at once, and with the *joangas* or *barangays* armed with all his warriors, embarked for the said Caraga, made his attack, and took 120 persons in all, whom, before even disembarking or going to his house, he sent to be handed over to that *binokot* by the same messenger with the necessary guards, who did so immediately and asked for the *buyos* in return for his lord who was exhausted from the battle.

But still not content with this, she sent back to say she could not make the *buyos* until he did the same thing he had done in Tandag in the islands of Yambig and Camiguing, which the chief set out to do at once. Reenforcing his fleet and taking only a few days, he brought his ships back full of captives, some 220 persons of all kinds, whom he immediately sent to his lady, asking again for those *buyos* by means of that slave, to which, stubborn as ever, she added that he had to perform the same deed with the people of the island of Siquihor and the town of Dapitan.

This he did at once and sent her all the captives, who were no fewer than on the past occasions, though still not enough to win her consent or for her to give the *buyos* which the gallant was asking of her. Instead, she sent to tell him that he had to do the same thing with the towns subject to Mindanao and those of the island of Jolo. So, undaunted by even this challenge, for a lover, unless he is mad, fears as little as those who are, he started out on the fourth expedition. He lifted anchor with his fleet and went to Mindanao and Jolo, where he fought valiantly and took many more captives than on the other occasions, and sent them all to her, once more asking for his *buyos*, since for these he was giving her she must surely say yes and set the wedding for certain.

But not even this time was she willing to give in, but rather, sent him another demand by the fuming go-between, who told him: "Sire, what the princess said is that she esteems your favors and admires your valor, but that in order to demonstrate you really love her and so your prowess may be better known, she has heard that not very far from these islands is the great kingdom of China, a people very rich and opulent who chirp like birds with a singsong voice and nobody understands them, and she said no more."

When her lover heard this, he fitted out his ships with stronger rigging, added more vessels, men and arms, and undertook the fifth voyage for Grand China, at which coasts he arrived safely, made his assaults on towns little prepared, captured enough to fill the ships, and made the return voyage to his land with great speed, laden with captives and spoils, which he immediately sent to his lady with the oft-repeated plea for the *buyos*.

But the lady was not won over by even all of these, but

rather, setting her contract still higher, asked for the impossible, for the reply which she gave was to say (and here the poet speaks in the hyperboles which the Visayans use with much elegance) that in due time and without fail she would make the buyos if he performed one more task first, which was that he should bring her something from heaven as important as what he had brought her from earth.

On this reply, seeing that she was asking for the impossible, he said, "Come then, let's get started: we will try to conquer heaven. Prepare the ships," he said, "and we'll go there. We'll make an attack on the sky; we'll unhinge a piece of it; we'll unfold part of one of its eight layers or levels, and we'll seize one of its greatest thunder claps; we'll rob the moon of a bit of its splendor, or if nothing else, at least one ray of those that are forged in its workshops. Come then, let's go, let's go!"

So he embarked, but in vain, and so he sailed, but without end, for of all the receding horizons, he neither reached one nor could he cover them all, so he returned satisfied, and sent word to her that he had done what she had ordered but that he could only dedicate, not give, the thunder and lightning to her, for throughout the many regions he had coursed, many were heard but few were found. He added that unless she sent him the buyos immediately which had cost him so much and had so tired him out, he would come and personally remove her hairpiece and make a *sombol*-plume of it for his ship.

On receiving this message, she began to cry and moan, terrified in her heart lest he dishonor her, and so she decided to make the buyos so many times denied. When they were made, she put them in a little casket of marble fashioned with much art, and this inside another little case like those in which ladies keep their jewels, and sent them with the negro go-between who had so many times come and gone with the messages. But when he told his lord that he had them, he was unwilling to see or receive them and sent them back instead, saying that he would not accept them whole but only chewed, and that she should send one in a perfumed box of gold, all of which was a sign of her consent and pledge of their intended wedding celebrations, which they performed afterwards with the pomp and ostentation fit for their class and wealth.

VISAYAN RELIGION AT THE TIME OF SPANISH ADVENT

The following article is a chapter of a forthcoming study of Philippine culture and society at the time of Spanish advent. It is based on contemporary sources, compared, assessed and combined to present a general description of native Visayan religion in the second half of the 16th century.

Among these sources are the reports of early explorers or settlers like Antonio Pigafetta, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and Martin de Rada, and longer accounts like Miguel de Loarca's 1582 *Relación*, Pedro Chirino's 1604 *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, and the so-called Boxer Codex written by one of the Governors Dasmariñas or somebody who traveled in their company. The earliest Visayan dictionaries also provide some check on the subjectivity of these descriptions—Mateo Sánchez's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* compiled in Dagami, Leyte, in 1615-1617, and Alonso de Métrida's 1637 *Diccionario de la Lengua Bisaya, Hiligueina y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*. In addition, Francisco Alcina's four-volume 1668 *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisaya* attempts to reconstruct prehispanic practices by interviews with the oldest Christian converts, and collect "superstitions" connected with birth, marriage, medicine, death, farming, hunting, fishing and warfare.

All these accounts must be read against the religious background of 16th-century Spain common to conquistador and friar alike. They all believed in witches, ghosts, demon-possession, miracle-working talismans, and pacts with the Devil, and sought pagan parallels to Christian cosmogony—a supreme deity, creator god, and a heaven and hell where the departed were rewarded or punished according to European standards of morality. On the other hand, they had all come from Mexico with its ruins of monumental temples and idols, and vivid memory of altars caked with human blood, and so regarded Philippine paganism more with scorn or pity than horror. And missionary fathers were actually

moved to sympathy for natives they considered child-like victims of Satanic deceit and delusions.

Visayan Religion

Visayans worshipped nature spirits, gods of particular localities or activities, and their own ancestors. Religious practitioners were male or female mediums who contacted spirit patrons in a state of trance to determine the cause and cure of illness. Sacrifices included foodstuffs, beverages, and live fowl, hogs or human beings, and ancestors, spirits and deities were invoked at feasts in which these were offered up. Ancestors were also invited to partake of any meal or drinking, and their well being in the next world depended on sacrifices offered by their descendants both before and after their death and burial.

Nature Spirits

Natural forces like celestial bodies or flowing waters were personified for reverence or worship. Chief among them were the sun and moon, especially the new moon whose regular waxing from a thin sliver to full brilliance so strongly suggested prosperity and fertility. Stars and constellations connected with the agricultural cycle were invoked for good crops, and prayers for fair weather and favorable winds were addressed to the winds themselves. There were river gods, both in general and as resident in particular streams, and important gods and spirits of the sea which received all these waters. Part of ordinary river traffic were little rafts—or, in the case of community sacrifices, large ones—headed downstream bearing the offerings and paraphernalia of ceremonies celebrated along their banks. And hunters were sure to offer their first catch to the spirits dwelling in the mountain, *banwanun*.

Crocodiles were held in special veneration because of their obvious danger: they were addressed as Grandfather, and were offered symbolic foodstuffs by the prudent when crossing rivers or even on entering boats. The spirit of the strangler fig, or *balete* tree, Palahi, was also given offerings in recognition of its sinister powers: as Father Chirino said, "There's no ancient tree to whom they do not

attribute divinity, and it was a sacrilege to think of cutting one under any circumstances."¹ Dangerous cliffs or strange rock formations were also invoked for safe passage: many porcelain plates that had contained offerings were to be found on a rocky promontory on Pitol Point, the northwestern headland of Panay, and so, too, a natural formation along the Araut River that looked like a man paddling a canoe was venerated as epic hero Labaw Donggon.

The Unseen World

Visayans considered themselves vastly outnumbered by a variety of invisible beings, spirits, and deities. Gods and goddesses were called *diwata* and ancestor spirits, *umalagad*, both words still in use among Visayans living in the remote mountains of Panay. These were generally benevolent or neutral and could be approached ritually for good crops, health and fortune, but they also caused illness or misfortune if not given due respect. They thus functioned to sanction approved social behavior. Naturally malevolent beings, on the other hand, had to be avoided or kept off by precautionary acts, and ranged from the mischievous to the ghoulish, the most common and fearful being those who ate away the livers of living persons. They had no single name as a class—Spanish lexicographers simply called them witches, *brujas* or *hechiceros*—a lack which has been supplied in modern Visayan by Spanish *duende*, hobgoblin, or *encanto*, enchanted.

Diwata is a Malay-Sanskrit term for gods or godhead, and Visayan *maniwata* or *magdiwata* meant to invoke or deify them, and *diya* was a Panay synonym. They had individual personalities and names, which differed from place to place: as Juan de la Isla said, "In every town they have their god, all called Diwata in general, but as a personal name, that of their town."² And their number was legion because individual shamans during seances named different ones with whom they were in communication or who took possession of them. Some, however, constituted a genuine pantheon, a hierarchy with specific roles to play, particularly in connection with birth, longevity, death and the afterlife. Others were the patrons of specific human conditions: Dalikmata, a diwata with many eyes, was invoked in the case of eye ailments, while Makabosog moved men to gluttony. And Cebuanos referred to the image of the Holy Child

which Magellan gave Humabon's wife as "the Spaniards' diwata," and supposedly rendered it homage after Magellan's death, or took it down to the shore and immersed it in time of drought.

Our earliest list was recorded by Miguel de Loarca in Panay in 1582.³ Si Dapa was a diwata who marked out one's mortal lifespan on a tree trunk on Mount Madyaas at the time of birth; Magwayen ferried the souls of the deceased across to a kind of Inferno, and Pandaki rescued the deserving for a more pleasant fate. Lalahon was the fire-breathing goddess of Mount Canlaon who could be invoked for good crops but who sent out swarms of locusts if angered, while Mayong was the diwata of the volcano in Ibalon (Albay) which bears her name. Inaginid and Malanduk were invoked for success in battle and plunder, and Nagined, Arapayan and Makbarubak could be appealed to when concocting a poisonous oil. A few were actually hostile to mankind—Makaptan, for example, who lived in the highest heaven and so had never tasted human food or drink and, presumably for this reason, capriciously caused them death and disease.

One of the first questions Spanish explorers always asked Filipinos was what their religion was. When Magellan asked Rajah Kolambu whether they were Muslims or pagans or what they believed in, he was told "they didn't worship anything but raised their face and clasped hands to heaven, and called their god Abba."⁴ This was an understandable confusion. Magellan's interpreter was a Malay-speaking Sumatran and *aba* is a Malay-Arabic word for father, while in Visayan, *Aba!* was a common expression of wonder or admiration—like "Hail" in the Ave Maria. Five years later, Sebastián de Puerto reported from the Surigao coast that the natives sacrificed to a god called Amto—i.e., *anito*, the ordinary Visayan term for sacrifice or religious offering.

Father Chirino, on the other hand, stated of the multitude of Filipino gods, "They make one the principal and superior of all, whom the Tagalogs call *Bathala Mei-Capal*, which means the creator god or maker, and the Bisayans, *Laon*, which denotes antiquity."⁵ The Tagalog *Bathala* was well-known in Chirino's day, but he was the first to mention a Visayan equivalent, though his statement was repeated verbatim by Jesuits of the next generation like Diego de Bobadilla and Francisco Colín. But not by Father Alcina: rather, he devoted one whole chapter to the thesis that Malaon was simply one of many names which Visayans applied to the True Godhead of which they had some hazy knowledge. Thus he equated

Malaon—who the Samareños thought was a female—with the Ancient of Days, Makapatag (to level or seize) with the Old Testament God of Vengeance, and Makaobus (to finish) with the Alpha and Omega, attributing these coincidences to some long-forgotten contact with Jews in China or India.

However, none of Chirino's contemporaries mentioned any Visayan deity by the name of Laon or a creator god by any name, least of all when recording origin myths, nor did the early dictionaries. Laon was not said of persons but of things: it meant aged or seasoned like root crops of grain left from last year's harvest, or a barren domestic animal. But *manlaon* appeared as the name of a mountain peak. Thus Laon may well have been the goddess of Mount Canlaon in Negros—Loarca's Lalahon—but it is unlikely that the Visayans had a supreme deity by that name.

The soul or *elan vital* was *kalag*: when people set new rice aside for the deceased, they said, "*Himulaw, himulaw, manga kalag: ayaw kami pagsuli*—Eat, souls, eat: let it not be bad for us," and a spirited, forceful man was called *kalagan nga tao*.⁶ The *kalag* might separate from the body during dreams, illness or insanity, or be carried off by a diwata for envy or desire, especially those who were *bugus*, perfect, handsome, or otherwise enviable. *Daay* was the diwata's desire for such a person, a beautiful woman for himself, a powerful man for a son. Women were therefore advised, "*Dika mag bukas sang paño sa olo mo kay daayon ka*—Don't uncover your head lest you be desired."⁷ The loss of *kalag* might also result in a kind of enchanted death—*linahos inkamatay*—of which Father Sánchez said, "There are those among the Visayans who remain like dead for two or three days, and afterwards revive and recount visions."⁸

Ancestor spirits specifically were called *umalagad*, from *alagad*, a follower or voluntary assistant, and they were venerated as personal guardians or companions. They were invoked on leaving the house and during agricultural rites in the field, and were considered essential shipmates on any sea raid, sometimes going on board in the form of a python. Indeed, some were said to have been born as snake twins from the same womb as the persons they were destined to protect. It was these *umalagad* and *kalag*, rather than the diwata, who were the main objects of Visayan adoration, receiving not only formal worship conducted by priests and priestesses, but domestic offerings and routinary acts of reverence on the part of laymen.

The Spirit Underworld

Visayans also believed in a demimonde of monsters and ghouls who had the characteristics modern medicine assigns to germs—invisible, ubiquitous, harmful, avoidable by simple health precautions and home remedies, but requiring professional diagnosis, prescription and treatment in the event of serious infection. Twentieth-century folklore considers them invisible creatures who sometimes permit themselves to be seen in their true shape or in the form of human beings, but 16th-century Spaniards thought they were really human beings who could assume such monstrous forms, witches whose abnormal behavior and powers were the result of demon possession or pacts with the Devil. But in either case, if Visayans became convinced that a death had been caused by one of their townmates who was such a creature, he or she was put to death—along with their whole family if the victim had been a datu.

The most common but most feared were the *aswang*, flesh-eaters who devoured the liver like a slow cancer. At the least liverish symptom, people said, "*Kinibtan ang atay*—Liver's being chipped away," and conducted a *tingalok* omen-seeking rite to discover the progress of the disease. If it appeared that the organ was completely consumed, emergency appeal had to be made promptly to some diwata to restore it. Aswang also ate the flesh of corpses, disinterring them if not well guarded, or actually causing them to disappear in the plain sight of mourners at a wake. Their presence was often revealed by level spots of ground they had trampled down during their witches' dance at night, or their singing, which sounded like the cackling of a hen—*nangangakak*. But like all other evil creatures, they were afraid of noise and so could be kept at bay by pounding on bamboo-slat floors.

Spanish lexicons listed *alok*, *balbal*, *kakag*, *oko*, *onglo* and *wakwak* as synonyms of *aswang*, but *tiktik* as one that flew around at night, and *tanggal* one that left the lower half of the body behind, or even the whole body with only the head flying off by itself. *Mantiw* were ghosts or apparitions, and *landung* were any imaginary visions or phantoms. Yawa was a general term for demons which came to be adopted for non-Christians—e.g., "*Yawa ka pa?*—Are you still pagan?"⁹ *Ogima* were man-shaped demons with the hind quarters of a beast and were therefore called satyrs or fauns by Father Méndrida, who soberly reported, "Plenty of them were seen

in Aklan and Ibahay in 1600 and before 1599."¹⁰ *Baliw* was to change—that is, from one thing into another, like Lot's wife into a pillar of salt—and a demon by this name had to be kept away from the sick. *Binaliw* was a witch who had become invisible, but also anyone suffering a change attributed to divine retribution, like crossed eyes or a withered limb, so that *Binaliw ka!* was one of the worst possible curses.

Omens and Divination

Visayans also believed that supernatural forces filled the natural world with signs and portents that it would be unwise to ignore. These were indicated by the behavior of birds and reptiles, or could be elicited by casting lots or omen-seeking ceremonies conducted by *babaylan* or other diviners. Spanish missionaries and commanders often had to cancel their plans because Filipino guides refused to continue on after hearing the cry of some bird.

Any snake or lizard crossing the path, even a common house lizard that "spoke to" somebody descending the housesteps, was a warning to turn back. A sneeze was also enough to interrupt any activity, including business transactions that were going badly, and hunters turned around if somebody happened to ask them about their plans because their quarry would be forewarned and hide. A monitor lizard under the house was a sure sign of impending death or disaster, though if it was killed, enshrouded and buried like a human being, its life might be accepted as a substitute for the householder's. But the most famous of these omens was the *limokon*, a kind of turtledove with striking green and white plumage and red feet and beak, also called *koro-koro* from its call. In a Suban-on epic, as Taake sinks into the depths of the sea, he laments, "Had the *limokon* sounded, I would not have come."¹¹

Fortune-telling by palmistry was *himalad*, from *palad*, the lines in the palm of the hand. (Old folks were said to be "broken" because they had as many cracks in their palm as a worn-out pot.) *Luknit* was to cast lots by four crocodile teeth or boar's tusks, and *tali* was a stone or egg which the diviner made stand upright on a plate. The most popular method was to ask the diwata to answer questions by causing some inanimate objective to move. *Abiyog* was to swing, like a bolo suspended from a cord, and *kibang* was to move or

wiggle, like a winnowing tray or a shield laid convex-side down. Mangayaw raiders before putting to sea were sure to board a small *baroto* without outriggers and, sitting perfectly still on the centerline, ask the diwata to rock the boat if it was propitious to proceed with the expedition. If they received a favorable response, they asked who it was who had rocked the boat, naming a list of possibilities, and then offered a predeparture sacrifice to the one who had favored them.

Sorcerers were believed to derive their secret knowledge of black magic—spells and charms—from these unnatural forces. *Habit* was a spell and *ginhabit* the one bewitched by it: *bakwit*, for example, was one by which women detained their lovers, *lumaya* a love potion, and *buringot* the opposite. Buringot also made its possessor fearless in the face of danger. *Mantala* were incantations or verbal formulas—e.g., to request crocodiles not to bite or hot iron not to burn. *Awug* was a spell put on coconut palms to make a thief's stomach swell up; *tiwtiw* made fish follow the fisherman to shore or wild boar follow the hunter out of the woods, and *oropok* caused rats to multiply in somebody's field. *Tagosilangan* were persons with a charm which enabled them to see hidden things, and *tagarlum* was a charmed herb that rendered its owner invisible.

A powerful datu's power was enhanced by popular fear of his arcane knowledge of black magic, sometimes reputed to be handed down from one generation to another. *Ropok* was a charm which caused the one who received it to obey like a slave, and *panlus* was a spear or G-string which caused leg pains or swelling in the victim as soon as he stepped over it. *Bosong* caused intestinal swelling in those who crossed him; *hokhok* was to kill simply with a breath or the touch of a hand, and *kaykay* was to pierce somebody through just by pointing a finger at him from a distance. A reputation for such powers no doubt both facilitated a datu's effective control over his subjects, and arose from it.

Worship

Anito was a sacrifice, a formal act of worship conducted by a *babaylan*. This same word was reported from Luzon as meaning an idol, ancestor spirit, or deity—that is, an object of worship—but although Visayan missionaries sometimes used the word in this

sense, their dictionary definitions are unambiguous. *Anito* was the root of the words *paganito/maganito*, an act of sacrifice, *naga anito*, to perform that act, and *iganito*, the thing being sacrificed. But the idol, diwata or umalagad being worshipped—Father Sánchez said—was *paganitohan*.¹²

Paganito were basically seances—that is, ceremonies in which a medium established audible communications with spirits. They were conducted for fertility of crops, newlyweds or domestic animals, for rain or fair weather, for victory in war or plunder in raids, recovery from illness or the control of epidemics, or the placating of the souls of the deceased. Minor paganito, however, could be performed by any householder. *Pagobo*, for instance, was offered to the diwata of the family hearth when drought threatened—a white hen and a bird-shaped rice cake together with leaves or sprouts from the crops threatened. *Pabto* was conducted when a hunting dog's poor performance was attributed to witchcraft: a node of hot bamboo was struck on the ground to explode in front of the dog while the hunter said, "*Palas na an palhi!*"—Out with all spells and curses!"¹³ But solemn paganito had to be conducted by a *babaylan*.

Babaylan were shamans or spirit mediums, given to seizures and trances in which they spoke with the voice of their diwata or other spirits and acted out conflicts in the spirit world, brandishing spears, foaming at the mouth, and often becoming violent enough to require restraint. They were also called *daitan*, befriended, in recognition of their patronage by particular diwata. They could be either male or female or male transvestites called *asog*, but were most commonly women. They came to their calling through attacks of illness or insanity which could only be cured by accepting the call, and then attached themselves as *alabay*, apprentices, to some older *babaylan*, frequently a relative. Their remuneration was a designated share of the offerings, usually choice cuts of the hog or the head, but in full-scale paganito sponsored by prominent datu, they went home with heirloom valuables like porcelain plates or gold ornaments.

This worship took place in private homes or fields, at gravesites or sacred spots outside the community, or along beaches or streams where rafts could be launched with disease and bad luck aboard, or live pests like locusts or rats. There were no temples, though there were little platforms or sheds at the entrance to the village

where offerings were made. Some paganito were for the benefit of individuals or kindred, some were by nature seasonal, and some sought relief from a public crisis like drought or pestilence. A solemn paganito in Cebu was described in the 16th century as follows:

The site was adorned with green branches, palm-leaf cloths and colorful blankets, and the offerings were set out on large plates—red blossoms, roasted fish, rice and millet cakes wrapped in leaves, and a piece of imported Cambay cloth. A large hog, raised and fattened for this end, lay bound on a grass mat, and cacophonous music was provided by gongs, drums, and resonant porcelain plates. The babaylan was an old woman wearing a headdress topped by a pair of horns and accompanied by a second medium, both of them carrying bamboo trumpets which they either played or spoke through. They both proceeded to dance around the hog with scarves in their hand, acting out a dialogue between the spirits possessing them, drinking wine on their behalf, and sprinkling some of it on the hog.

Finally, a spear was given the presiding babaylan, and with it she began a series of feints at the hog as the tempo of her movements increased to a frenzy, and then, with a sudden thrust, ran the victim through the heart with unerring aim. The foreheads of the main beneficiaries of the ceremony were marked with the victim's blood, the wounds were stanching, and the mat bloodied during the sacrifice was carefully burned. The babaylan was then divested of her accoutrements and awakened from her trance, while the hog was singed, butchered and cooked. The feasting then began, everybody receiving a share, though the flesh touched by the spear was reserved for the babaylan. Some of the meat was taken down to an altar on the seashore or river bank where, after prayers, it was placed on a little raft together with the altar and all other paraphernalia, and set adrift. This brought the ritual to a close though the celebrating continued.¹⁴

Naturally these ceremonies had their own vocabulary. *Ginayaw* were offerings of spherical yellow-rice cakes; *tinorlok* was the hog reserved for sacrifice, and *bani* was the tabu requiring the mat to be burned. *Taruk* was the babaylan's dance, *bodyong* her bamboo trumpet, and *banay* a fan or fly whisk with which she kept time. *Hola*, *hulak* and *tagduk* all meant spirit possession, with *saob* including even animals, and *taho* was the whistling sound when the diwata was speaking. The little houses or altars on the river bank were

latangan, or *maglantang* if large enough for major community sacrifices. And the babaylan's healing prowess was described in dramatic terms: *agaw*, to carry off by force, was to snatch a pain from the sufferer; *tawag*, to call out, was to summon the spirit that had kidnapped the soul; and *bawi*, to rescue, was to free the invalid from the grip of the afflicting spirit.

Paglehe or *magrehe* were religious restrictions or tabus, like mourning restrictions following a datu's death, or a seven-day thanksgiving period following harvest during which rice could not be pounded nor outsiders enter the house. Ordinary activities which involved risk or doubt were always accompanied by prescribed tabus—planting, setting traps, starting dogs on the hunt, or the swarming of locusts or the arrival of alien datus, who were considered naturally hostile if not actually bent on mischief. Missionaries adopted the word *lehe* for Lenten abstinences and restrictions of eating meat on Fridays, and also accepted the pre-Christian term *harang* or *halad* for offering. So, too, Christians continued *darangin*, a perfunctory invocation of ancestor spirits when leaving the house, only they were supposed to murmur, "Jesus," instead of "Apo-Apo."

Idols

Visayans kept small idols in their homes called *taotao*, *batabata* or *larawan*, guardians of family welfare and the first recourse in the case of sickness or trouble. *Taotao* meant a manikin or little *tao*, human being; *batabata* was a little *bata*, great grandparent; and *ladaw* or *larawan* was an image, mould or model. Idols of individual diwata with their names and properties, however, did not figure prominently in Visayan worship. Nor were they annointed, perfumed or decked with gold and jewels as they were in the lake regions of Manila. Thus, members of the Legazpi expedition, fresh from Mexico with its monumental Aztec imagery, reported that Cebuanos had neither temples nor idols. But the household idols were common enough and visible enough to attract Magellan's disapproving attention. Why were they not all burned? he demanded after the mass baptisms he instigated.

Hernando de la Torre reported that the natives of Surigao worshipped idols of wood, "and they paint them as well as they can, as

we do Santos,¹⁵ and Pigafetta left the following description of one in Cebu:

These idols are made of wood, and are hollow, and lack the back parts. Their arms are open and their feet turned up under them with the legs open. They have a large face with four huge tusks like those of the wild boar; and are painted all over.¹⁶

But one would wonder if Visayans really represented their ancestral spirits in such monstrous form. Moreover, the description is at best confusing, what with its open arms and legs, turned-up feet and lack of back parts. Perhaps what Pigafetta was describing was really an animal-shaped ritual bowl for offerings like rice cakes and betelnut, a container intended to stand on its four legs, being hollow and open along its back, of course, in order to serve its purpose.

Further confusion is added to the picture of Visayan idol-worship by the fact that the English word "idol" inevitably suggests an actual carved figure. But Spanish *ídolo* means not only a graven image, but anything worshipped, idolized or deified—like an ancestor or a balet tree. Father Métrida defined *diwata* as "God, idol of the pagans, not the images because they worship the Demon in the spirit."¹⁷ Thus, modern English translations obscure the fact that the "idols" invoked by a *babaylan* during a solemn *paganito* were not wooden statues, but invisible spirits.

Origin Myths

In the beginning there was only sea and sky—so says a Visayan myth well known to Spanish chroniclers. The following is the account attributed to Legazpi himself in 1567:

In the beginning of the world there was nothing more than sky and water, and between the two, a hawk was flying, which, getting angry at finding no place to alight or rest, turned the water against the sky, which was offended and so scattered the water with islands and then the hawk had some place to nest. And when it was on one of them along the seashore, the current threw up a piece of bamboo at its feet, which the hawk grabbed and opened by pecking, and from the two sections of

the bamboo, a man came out of one and a woman from the other. These, they say, married with the approval of Linog, which is the earthquake, and in time they had many children, who fled when their parents got angry and wanted to drive them out of the house and began to hit them with sticks. Some got in the inner room of the house, and from these the *grandees* or nobles are descended; others went down the steps and from these the *timawa* are descended, who are the plebian people; and from the children who remained hidden in the kitchen, they say the slaves are descended.¹⁸

With local variations, the myth was well known all over the Visayas. In a Panay version, the bamboo itself was produced by a marriage between the sea breeze and the land breeze—probably the primordial pair of deities, Kaptan and Magwayan—but in Leyte and Samar, the first man and woman issued from two young coconuts floating on the water and pecked open by the bird. And the highlanders of Panay listed two other categories of fleeing children—those who hid in the kitchen ashbox and became the ancestors of the blacks, and those who fled to the open sea, the progenitors of the Spaniards. The most detailed account was recorded by Loarca from the coastal people of Panay, probably in Oton (Iloilo) where he was operating a Spanish shipyard.

In this version, the man and woman who came forth from the bamboo were Si Kalak (i.e., *Iaki*, male) and Si Kabai (female), and they had three children—two sons, Sibò and Pandagwan, and a daughter, Samar. Samar and Sibò married and had a daughter named Lupluban, who married her uncle Pandagwan, the inventor of the fishnet, and they, in turn, had a son named Anoranor, whose son Panas was the inventor of war. Pandagwan's first catch was a shark which died when he took it out of the water, the first death in the world; grieved, he mourned its death and blamed the gods Kaptan and Magwayan, who, angered, killed him with a thunderbolt. But 30 days later they revived him from the underworld and restored him to the land of the living. But during his absence his wife had been won over by Marakoyrun with a stolen pig and would not now return to him. So he went back to the land of the dead, setting the pattern of mortality for all mankind.

The Visayan origin myth thus describes the creation of man and woman, accounts for the introduction of war, death, theft,

concubinage, and class and race differences into the world, and provides a human genealogy with divine roots. But it does not contain any creator god. Christians, however, called the Creator "the Potter," Mamarikpik, from *pikpik* or *pakpak*, the slaps the potter gives the clay in the paddle-and-anvil technique. Father Sanchez quoted an educated Cebuano as saying, "*Kanino pikpik inin kalibutan, dile kanan Dios?—Who made this world if not God? An Dios in mamarappak sinin ngatanan mga yada—God made everything there is.*"¹⁹

Death and Burial

When all healing paganito failed to revive the moribund, one last desperate rite was performed to call back the departed soul—the *Paguli*. A coconut shell of water was placed on the stomach of the inert invalid and rotated to chants of "*Uli, uli, kalag—Come back, come back, soul.*"²⁰ In the case of a datu, some of his slaves were sacrificed in the hope they would be accepted in his stead by the ancestor spirit who was calling him away. Or an *itananun* expedition would be sent to take captives in some other community.

These captives were sacrificed in a variety of brutal ways, though after first being intoxicated. In Cebu they were speared on the edge of the houseporch to drop into graves already dug for them, and in Carigara, a boat was rolled over their prostrate bodies. And in Butuan, they were bound to a cross, tortured all day with bamboo spikes, and finally run through with a spear and cast into the river at dawn—"cross and all," pioneer missionary Martín de Rada said.²¹ This violence testifies to the conviction that a datu is the ordinary target for vengeful spirits of men he has vanquished, and that fitting retribution is therefore required to satisfy his own ancestors.

The cadaver was usually anointed and groomed as in life, though in Cebu subjected to a ritual haircut: Pigafetta attended a funeral in which the widow lay on the body, mouth to mouth, while this mournful ritual was performed. So as to be assured of a ready reception in the next life, the deceased was bedecked with the jewelry he was accustomed to wear on festive occasions, and as much gold as possible, some even being placed in his mouth and between the layers of as many as ten blankets with which he was shrouded. Aromatics like camphor were applied for their embalming effect,

and the house was meanwhile fumigated with porcelain jars of burning incense.

During a wake which lasted as long as the bereaved family could supply food and drink for guests, the widow or widower, together with first-degree kin, were secluded behind tattered white hangings—actually, *mapuraw*, undyed, not *maputi*, white. Professional mourners, generally old women, sang dirges which emphasized the grief of the survivors (who responded with keening wails), and eulogized the qualities of the deceased—the bravery and generosity of men, the beauty and industry of women, and the sexual fulfillment of either. These eulogies were addressed directly to the deceased and included prayers of petition: they were therefore a form of ancestor worship, one of such vigor that Spanish missionaries were never able to eradicate it.

Though poor Visayans were buried wrapped in a banana leaf in simple caskets of thin boards or even bamboo, the standard Visayan coffin was made of a hardwood like ipil, incorruptible enough to outlast its contents. It was hewn from a single tree trunk with a lid cut from the same piece, fitted, pegged and caulked airtight with resin. (This hermetic seal was an essential feature since coffins were often kept unburied in the house.) These were called *longon*, a term Visayans did not apply to the sort of casket introduced by the missionary fathers. All datos or prominent persons wanted to be buried in a traditional *longon*, decorated with fanciful carvings often executed by the future occupant himself during his lifetime.

The corpse was placed in the coffin with all body cavities filled with *buyo* sap, together with its finery and such heirloom valuables as porcelain jars or plates and saucers placed under the head like a pillow or over the face and breasts. Some wore actual masks and mouthpieces of beaten gold, or were provided with bejeweled side-arms, and an ax handle was placed in the coffin of a *bingil*, a woman who had known no man other than her husband—just as the hole in the ax handle fit only the axhead made for it. Naturally, all this gold and porcelain attracted grave robbers in the 16th century just as it does in the 20th: Father Alcina sent a gold earring to Spain which he purchased from this source. (*Langab* meant to bury a coffin in a secret location in hopes of protecting its contents.)

Infants and newborn or aborted babies were buried in crocks or jars, sometimes Chinese porcelains with matching lids, but no Spanish observer seems to have witnessed an adult jar burial. Alcina,

however, was aware of the practice. He said that Visayans buried not only in longon, "but in large jars, glazed and strong, in which they placed the bodies seated, and all the wealth they had when alive."²² He received this information from Boholano workmen who had dug into a burial site full of them when excavating for the Jesuit chapel in Baklongan earlier in the century, a discovery which attracted Spaniards from Cebu to do some digging of their own. Some of these must have been secondary burials since the "dragon jars" mentioned—what Visayans called *ihalasan* from *ihas*, snake, and valued at the price of a slave—would have been too small to accommodate an adult body, even with the knees drawn up under the chin.

There was a considerable local variation in Visayan grave sites. There were graveyards outside village limits, frequently dug into the banks of upstream rivers or the seacoast, where they were often exposed by natural erosion: more than a kilometer of them were revealed along the Mandawi waterfront in Cebu. Caves were also used where available, or small islets reserved for this purpose: the reason Homonhon was uninhabited when Magellan landed there was that Visayans considered it haunted. But shamans and members of the datu class were never buried in these public graveyards: their caskets were kept in or under their houses or, in the case of babaylan, exposed to the elements in the branches of the balete tree where they had established spirit contact.

Renowned sea raiders sometimes left instructions for their burial. One in Leyte directed that his longon be placed in a shrine on the seacoast between Abuyog and Dulag, where his kalag could serve as a patron for followers in his tradition. Many were interred in actual boats: the most celebrated case was a Bohol chieftain who was buried a few years before Legazpi's arrival in a caracoa with 70 slaves, a full complement of oarsmen. Or a slave called *dayo* might be stationed at a datu's tomb for the rest of his life to guard it against robbers or aswang, with the right to feed himself off anybody's fields, a security considered enviable in a subsistence economy: men with permanent positions said, "*Baga dayo na kita dinhi*—We're like dayo here."²³ Slaves were also sacrificed at a datu's death, even being killed in the same manner in which he had died—e.g., by drowning. These slaves were usually foreign captives, but occasionally a lifelong personal attendant, *atobang*, who expected to follow his master to the grave.

Most prestigious, and regarded as especially respectful and affectionate, was secondary burial—that is, the reburial of bones exhumed from a primary burial after the body has decomposed. For one year, the coffin was kept in the house suspended from the rafters, or in a small chamber extended to one side, a shed underneath, or in a field. If it was hung in the house, putrified matter was drained off as necessary by caulking a bamboo tube into a small hole in the bottom which was sealed afterwards. If it was removed from the house, it was not taken out the door—lest the spirits of the living follow it—but through a temporary opening in the wall. A year or so later, the bones were removed, given a ritual cleansing by a babaylan, and placed in a smaller chest: here they were permanently preserved, venerated, and carried along if the family moved.

The most dramatic expression of grief for a departed parent was to dismantle or burn the house in which he died, or cut down trees he had planted. All these things, like a slave sacrificed to accompany him, were called *onong*, something which shares the same fate. When placing heirloom wealth, *bahandi*, like gold or porcelain in the grave, his children said, "*Iyonong ta inin bahandi kan ama*—May this bahandi accompany our father"; and when men swore by the sun, they said, "May I share the sun's fate, *nahaonong ako sa araw*, if I am not telling the truth"—that is, disappear at sunset. Not surprisingly, missionaries applied the term to the Christian sacrifice: "*An atun ginoo Yesu Christo napahaonong dakwa*—Our Lord Jesus Christ took on our fate."²⁴

Mourning

Both widows and widowers observed three days of fasting and silence during which they neither bathed nor combed, and might even shave their hair and eyebrows as a special sign of grief, and until the full mourning period was ended, they did not eat cooked food. Family members draped undyed cloth over their heads when they went out, men let their G-strings drag in the dust, and young widowers did not don their red *pudong* or G-strings again until they had contracted another marriage. The house was fenced off, all seeds were taken out and planted lest they be contaminated with death, and all fires were extinguished and rekindled for each use.

In the case of a datu's death, or one of his wives or children, the whole community was placed under strict mourning interdict, *pumaraw*. Nobody could wear colored clothes, climb palm trees or fish in certain streams, and spears were carried point down and sidearms blade up. A mournful silence was to be maintained, and families are said to have been enslaved as a punishment for breaking the tabu when their dogs barked or cocks crowed. A datu's mourning period only ended with the taking of a human life.

This same requirement pertained to any death by violence, drowning or suspected sorcery, though when the cause was not certain, a wild boar or deer could be speared instead. Men charged with responsibility for family honor would tie rings of irritating vines around their arms or neck, and swear not to remove them or partake of certain food or drink until they had fulfilled this duty. Once the requirement was satisfied, the end of the mourning period was announced by the ranking lady of the household presenting gifts of wine to allied communities, being rowed there by three respected warriors singing victory chants and boasting of their exploits. The oaths were called *balata* or *lalaw*, and *awut* was the promised fasting or abstinence. The fact that these same terms were applied to a pact two men would make when one of them was leaving on a trip, swearing to observe *awut* until they met again, suggests the insecurity of travel outside one's own community in the 16th-century Visayas.

The Afterlife

The departing Visayan soul was delivered to the land of the dead, Saad or Sulad, by boat, a passage which is represented by little ceramic figures on the lid of a famous burial jar dated to 800 B.C. from Manunggul Cave in Palawan. The boatman sits in the stern with the steering oar in his hands, his ghostly passenger in front with hands folded across his chest, staring wide-eyed straight ahead. On the other shore, the *kalag* would be met by relatives who had predeceased him, but they only accepted him if he was well ornamented with gold jewelry. If rejected, he remained permanently in Sulad unless reprieved by a god called Pandaki in response to rich *paganito* offered up by his survivors. In Panay, the boatman was called Magwayan, the lords of the underworld Mural and

Ginarugan, and Sumpoy the one who rescued the souls on Pandaki's behalf and gave them to Siburanen who, in turn, delivered them to the place where they would live out their afterlife—Mount Madyaas, for instance, for the Kiniray-as, or Borneo for the Cebuanos and Boholanos.

In the afterlife, married couples were reunited to continue accustomed activities like farming, fishing, raiding, spinning and weaving, but did not bear children. (Babies, who had never engaged in adult activities, did not have an afterlife.) In this way, they spent their days for nine lifetimes, being reborn each time smaller than the last, until in their final reincarnation, they were buried in a coffin the size of a grain of rice. The souls of those who had drowned, however, remained in the sea; indeed, drowning was such a common cause of death that Samareños used the term figuratively for any death. Those who died in war, who were murdered or killed by crocodiles, traveled up the rainbow to the sky; in the Panay epic, Labaw Donggon, the rainbow itself is formed by their blood falling to earth. In the skyworld they became gods who, deprived of the company of their kin, were presumably ready to lend their aid to survivors who undertook to avenge their deaths.

Sulad was therefore not a Hell where evil-doers were punished, though, as Father Mentrída said, "because they have no knowledge of the Inferno, they call the Inferno, Solar [i.e., Sulad], and those who dwell in the Inferno, *solanun*."²⁵ These *solanun*, of course, were simply those who went to the grave without sufficient gold and whose relatives could not afford the *paganito* to rescue them. And it was a common belief that there was a deep cave called Lalangban which was an entrance to this underworld, and that from it a loud noise like the slamming of a door could be heard prior to a ruling datu's death.

Nor was the sky a Heaven where the good were rewarded. It was the abode of Makaptan, that deity who killed the first man with a thunderbolt and visited disease and death on his descendants. "They did not realize," Father Alcina complained, "that the sky served as God's own house and the abode of the blessed."²⁶ Indeed, the Visayans long resisted the Christian dogma of a heavenly paradise. Juan de la Isla wrote, "They believe that their souls go down below and say that this is better because they are cooler there than up above where it is very hot."²⁷ A century later, a wise old Visayan told Father Alcina:

Father, we do not doubt that there will be a heaven for the Castilians, but not for the Visayans, because God created us in this part of the world so very different from you; and since, as we see, the Spaniards will not even let us sit down in their houses here, nor show us any respect, how much less there where, as you say, all is grandeur, majesty and glory without end?²⁸

Notes

¹Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (Rome, 1604; Manila, 1969), p. 62.

²Juan de la Isla, "Relación de las Islas del Poniente," *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguos Posesiones españolas de Ultramar*: Segunda Serie, Tomo 3 (Madrid, 1887), pp. 233-234.

³Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Islas Filipinas," Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland, 1903-19 (9), vol. 5, pp. 120-140).

⁴Antonio Pigafetta, "Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo" (1522), Blair and Robertson, op. cit., vol. 33, p. 126.

⁵Chirino, op. cit., p. 60.

⁶Francisco Alcina, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas* (MS, 1668), Part I, Book 3, Chapter 14.

⁷Alonso de Métrida, *Diccionario de la Lengua bisaya, hiligueina y haraya de la Isla de Panay* (Manila, 1637, 1841), p. 116.

⁸Matheo Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la Lengua bisaya* (Dagami, 1617 MS; Manila, 1711), fol. 291v.

⁹Ibid., fol. 264.

¹⁰Métrida, op. cit., p. 274.

¹¹Gaudiosa Martinez Ochotorena, "Ag Tobig nog Keboklagan: a Suban-on Folk Epic," *Kinaadman* 3 (1981): 420.

¹²Sánchez, op. cit., fol. 25-25v.

¹³Ibid., fol. 387v.

¹⁴Pigafetta, op. cit., pp. 168-170; Isla, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

¹⁵Hernando de la Torre, "Relación del Viage y Navegación de la Armada de Laoisa," Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1825-1837), vol. 5, p. 280.

¹⁶Pigafetta, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁷Métrida, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁸Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1698, 1975), pp. 293-294.

¹⁹Sánchez, op. cit., fol. 388v.

²⁰Alcina, op. cit., loc. cit.

²¹"Carta del P. Martín de Rada," Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provinciana agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, vol. 14 (Manila, 1978), p. 480.

²²Alcina, op. cit., ch. 16.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Sánchez, op. cit., fol. 379v.

²⁵Métrida, op. cit., p. 350.

²⁶Alcina, op. cit., ch. 11.

²⁷Isla, op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁸Alcina, op. cit., ch. 12.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VISAYAN FOOD AND FARMING*

The staple crops of the Visayans at the time of Spanish advent were rice, millet, taro, yams and bananas grown in swiddens (*kaingin*), wild yams and sagu.¹ Rice was grown everywhere and was the preferred food, but only produced a year's supply in a few places. Root crops were therefore the most common food for part of the year, or all of the year for part of the people. This was even more characteristic of the Spanish colony because tribute was collected in rice from the very beginning. As Jesuit Francisco Alcina observed a century later, "The rice usually does not last them longer than the time it takes to harvest it, since the rest they pay in tribute or sell to get the cash to pay it."²

Spaniards made much of the fact that Visayans did not produce a year's supply of rice, and that even datus with many slaves ate root crops in certain seasons. They apparently were unaware that low-intensity farmers wished to distribute the risk of bad weather, locusts or other pests to several different crops—or that they might not have found such annual variation in diet a particular hardship in the first place. Adverse conditions did, of course, cause food shortages, or even famines so severe parents would sell children for food from as far away as Borneo. Such painful exchanges enabled them to provide for other children, while those they lost would be nourished to adulthood either as slaves or foster children. Indeed, cases were not unknown of such children returning years later, married and prosperous.

The fact that Visayans lived in permanent settlements is evidence that their swiddening techniques were not destructive—meaning

that a favorable balance between their numbers and the land available to them permitted new swiddens to be made in the secondary growth on abandoned swiddens without cutting into virgin woodland each time. The late 20th-century observer familiar with the denuded, eroded Visayan terrain can hardly imagine the lushness of its 16th-century flora and fauna. Forest plants and honey were part of normal diet in season, wild game was so plentiful swiddens needed fences like little stockades, and pigs gorging on fallen fruits grew so fat they were easy prey for hunting dogs. Spanish accounts regularly speak of the fertility of a soil that produced larger and better corn, cacao and sweet potatoes than the original specimens introduced from Mexico. In short, it was an environment which was able to carry a sparse Visayan population that burned off a small portion of its cover every year.

Rice farming. Visayans called rice *humay*, *tipasi* or *paray*, but didn't grow much of it irrigated in the 16th century—that is, in pond fields with standing water. The early dictionaries include dozens of terms for rice cultivation and dozens more for different varieties, but not a word about wet rice—or, more accurately, just one word, *gani*, a seedbed for rice to be transplanted to swampland or the floodplain of rivers, where it was all too frequently drowned. Instead, they planted dry rice in hillside swiddens with natural drainage. This often resulted in a symbiotic relationship between uplanders and lowlanders on the coast, the one exchanging rice for seafood, salt and pottery from the other. From Cebu, Legazpi sent soldiers to look for rice "in the mountains and highlands of the other islands around,"³ and eventually transferred to Panay because "there is a great quantity of rice [there], and from the sea [the Portuguese] can't stop it from coming down the river from the hills."⁴

Swidden farming called for close attention to the weather: fields had to be dry to burn but sprouting rice needed moisture. Visayans were aware of the changing seasons from the appearance of stars, the shifting direction of winds, the flowering of plants and the songs of birds. Because of varying exposure to monsoon winds, the best time for beginning the agricultural cycle was not the same on all islands and coasts. Rajah Kolambu of Limasawa asked Magellan's help to harvest in late March; Bernardo de la Torre harvested some Filipinos' rice under arms on the southern coast of Mindanao in June and July, and Legazpi reported that Panayanos were

*This is a chapter of a forthcoming study of Philippine culture and society at the time of Spanish advent.

harvesting in October and November. Perhaps two crops were grown in Iloilo: Miguel de Loarca gave a four-month schedule for preparing swiddens beginning in June—that is, when the Pleiades first appeared—which would presumably have been planted in September.

Available swidden land was unlimited: a century after Spanish advent, Father Alcina could still write, "Regarding land, here there is no difference between mine and thine . . . because it is so great, so extensive, and in almost all places so good."⁵ Farmers simply drove a stake, *patkal*, in the ground or cut some branches off a tree to establish their claim. This claim did not include ownership of the land, however, but only of the crops grown on it: these could be harvested, traded or sold, even a full field of standing grain—e.g., "*Iyo ako daganihan sining akun tabataba*—Help me harvest this rice I've bought."⁶ Two farmers might work a field in common, *tobong*, and all fields were worked by exchange labor, *alayan*, planting or harvesting each one's field in turn, the owner feeding them all.

Most swiddens were made in secondary growth where earlier ones had been fallowed, *bunglayan* or *habohabun*, or even last year's field with the dried stalks still standing, *dinagamian*. *Balasubas*, *kalasokas*, *kanat*, and *higabon* all meant the process of clearing off the undergrowth, including *goro*, to slash through bamboo or vines, and *harabay* or *haras*, to hack off shrubs and small plants at the root. *Hadhad* was to chop down fullgrown trees, though some were left standing with their branches removed—small ones to serve as poles for climbing vegetables, large ones because they were too laborious to fell—and *hilay* or *hiklay* was to cut those along the edges that would shade the crops. All this debris, *dorok* or *dopok*, was gathered into large piles called *tapong* for burning when dry, though pieces of wood large enough to be useful were dragged off to be saved. The climax came with the actual firing, *dobdob*, and the swidden was then a *kaingin*, ready to be planted and cultivated as a field, *uma* (or *baul* in Cebu).

All of this work would be stopped if the mound of a termites' nest, *posgo*, was found, or some evil portent like a *balinkokogo* snail, which the Visayans considered unnatural because, they said, it made a squeaking sound. Once the field was finished, omens were taken to determine if it would be fruitful, and sacrifices offered at a bamboo post called *bunglan* or *timbangyan* in the middle; only then

could planting begin, *pugas*. A row of men strode across the field punching thumb-sized holes with a heavy wooden pole, *hasuk* or *bakol*, as thick as their arm and pointed at the bottom. They were immediately followed by a row of women who dropped five or six seeds into each hole and covered them over with their toes, all with a speed and accuracy which elicited wonder from foreign observers for three centuries. Some fields were deliberately planted later than others to stagger the time of reaping and distribute the risk of bad crops. Taro and millet were often planted along the edges of the field depending on the type of soil, and weeding was required two or three times during the season—*dalos*, *gunit* or *hilamon*.

Once planted, swiddens had to be protected from birds, wild boar and deer—though little protection could be taken against a swarm of locusts. Sturdy fences were constructed all around—*tarluk* with fenceposts as thick as a *basuk* dibble stick with thinner ones lashed in between close enough together to obstruct a pig's snout, or *saruk*, a double row of posts with brush and branches piled in between and woven tight to make a veritable stockade as high as a man's chest. Even so, field huts called *bugawan* or *hulayag* had to be manned daily, and reinforced when the grain ripened, to drive off birds by beating large bamboo rattles, *kalakopak*, or pulling cords which jerked dangling scarecrows or wooden noisemakers at the edge of the field for wild animals, or simply by shouting, clapping or stomping.

Harvesting was accompanied by strict religious tabus. For three days before, harvesters had to remain continent and keep away from fire, nor could outsiders enter the house: otherwise, they believed, the rice would be all straw with very few grains. In some places they even camped in the field all during harvest, lest the rice decrease—as they said—by running away angry that the house had not been left to it alone. Harvesting was usually done by women, and men could not join them even if the crop would be lost for want of reapers. Even where it was the custom for men to join in, the harvest had to be begun by a woman ritually cutting a prescribed amount at a specific hour of the day. And once the harvest was finished, more tabus were enforced for seven days—e.g., houses were closed to outsiders and cooking fires had to be rekindled each time.

Rice was reaped pannicle by pannicle, leaving the stalks standing, with a sickle called *salat* or any kind of knife—e.g., *sipol*, a little paring knife women ordinarily carried around with them, or *bisong*,

an even smaller one for cutting threads or betelnut. Green ears were separated to be pounded and toasted as *pilipig*, and the rest was sunned and stored unthreshed in field granaries called *korob*, or *olog* if standing on a tree stump, or under the house in *tambobong*, a kind of huge basket of woven reed mats. It was threshed as needed by being trampled underfoot, *giyuk*, scraped against a seashell, *kagur*, or pulled through the hands, *humo*, a term which also meant to rub ripe grains loose from a growing plant in time of hunger, leaving the others to mature. After threshing, it was winnowed, milled with a mortar and pestle, and winnowed again. If especially white rice was wanted—for example, to dye yellow with saffron for festive or ceremonial occasions—it was pounded again, *hashas*. (It was this plain white rice cooked without condiments or seasoning which the Spaniards came to call *morisqueta*—because, Father Colin said, "It was no better than Moro fare.") It could also be pounded as fine as flour, *binokbok*, and mixed with ingredients like honey and grated coconut to prepare confections, or fermented into yeast cakes, *tapay*, for brewing—whence, *tinapay*: leavened bread.

Second only to rice in importance and esteem was millet, *dawa*, which in some islands was the main crop and rice was not grown at all. It was sown by broadcasting, *sabuag*, and could grow in poorer soil than rice, yielded more bountifully, and ripened sooner. But it had the great disadvantage that its seeds were so hard they were tiresome to mill by pounding. Sorghum, *batar*, was also planted and eaten as a cereal but was less common, though it was regularly mentioned in Cebu. The grain-like Job's-tears, *arlay*, was also eaten in place of rice: it grew wild, and had large seeds so hard they could be drilled through and strung as necklaces. But whether rice or millet was the preferred food, root crops were actually the most common Bisayan staple.

Root crops. Among their many root crops, or tubers, the one the Visayans considered most nutritious was *taro* (*Colocasia*), which required moist soil, even mud or standing water, and had large shield-shaped leaves. It was called *gabi*, *lagway*, *gaway* or *sol* in various places, but one called *biga* was not *Colocasia* at all, but *Alocasia*. There were many varieties: Father Alcina said he counted 78, including *humnaw*, "a kind of yellowish gabi so soft and mellow it might have been mixed with butter."⁸ Its prominent place in Visayan life was reflected by an extensive vocabulary for its parts,

uses, and stages of growth. *Apay* were the leaves wrapped around other food for roasting, *laon* were edible leaves cooked on coals, and *dagmay* was an old leaf. *Hungay* was gabi too young to harvest, so they said of little children, "*Hungay man an tao*," meaning, "Let him play, he's still growing."⁹

Yams (*Dioscorea*) were the most widespread root crop, growing both wild and domestic in four or five different species with dozens of varieties. The most common species was *Alata ubi*, while *abobo* was *Bulbifera*, a species so called from the fruitlike little bulbs which grew on the stem and were eaten cooked rather than the root itself. But *ubi*, like the English word yam, was also applied loosely to any bulky edible root. Sánchez glossed many Samareño terms with "a root, a kind of *ubi*," and defined *ubi* itself simply as "an edible root." Métrida called it "a camote, a certain common species" in Hiligaynon, just as southerners in the United States call sweet potatoes yams.

The domestic varieties were planted in hard soil too poor for rice and too dry for taro, in holes opened with a stout planting stick called *gahuk*, and a pole called *dongdong* was inserted alongside for the stems to climb. But just as important as any domestic variety was the wild yam called *korot* or *kobong*, which was caustic to the taste, intoxicating, or even poisonous, if not well cured. It had to be treated by being cut in slices, pounded or scalded, soaked in a wooden tub, preferably in salt water, and squeezed out by fistfulls. *Butwa* was the stage in this process when it could be eaten even though still wet, or *pinalagdang*, half dry, but if it was kept until it became hard, it was *buggus*—and so was a stubborn man who insisted on having his own way.

Sagu. Another starchy staple food was a kind of flour made from the inner trunk of the sagu palm, *lumbia*, or a number of others like nipa or buri—e.g., *ambolong*, *pugahan*, or *sakol*. The trunk was stripped, cut into pieces (measured by ax-handles if for sale), pulverized in mortars, and then washed, dissolved and allowed to settle in tubs of water. A reddish sediment, *unaw*, collected on the bottom, leaving the lighter bran, *olabot*, floating on the surface to be skimmed off, dried, and stored in granaries called *sonson* or *olog*. In Mindanao and islands to the south, it was the main staple, where it was pressed into moulds to make little cakes, *landan*, which dried as hard as bricks but became soft and palatable on boiling—like

macaroni from Sicily, Father Alcina said. These were commercial products imported into the Philippines from Macassar packaged in leaves: Magellan's survivors intercepted a boat loaded with them just off Basilan.

Bananas. A number of different bananas and plantains (cooking bananas), boiled still unripe like rice or yams, were also a staple food crop. Spaniards regularly praised the flavor and variety of Visayan bananas: Juan Martínez rhapsodized over their Latin name, *musa*, "There can be no doubt that they are the same fruit which Jupiter's nine sisters [i.e., the Muses] used to eat in their day, because they gave them the name of musas."¹⁰ Like Spaniards, Visayans ate ripe ones as fruit or between-meal snacks—though probably not sprinkled with cinnamon or doused with wine—especially the fragrant little ones called *todlong binokot*, "lady-fingers." But the reason they cultivated them so widely was that before ripening their sugar content was all starch, and so provided a valuable staple of diet.

A sampler of Visayan farming terms. Sixteenth-century Visayan farmers knew neither the plow nor the carabao—and the rather puny plows which became available in the next century would have been of little use in swiddens, anyway, because of snagging on roots. Farming tools and techniques other than those for clearing swiddens included the following:

Bakar. To till the soil by any method.

Bunyag. To water plants by sprinkling.

Damus or *napon*. A field of root crops

Gibo. A crude broom for sweeping a field.

Habuk. To cultivate the soil for planting with a bolo.

Kahig. A rake or harrow.

Kuyog. To plant trees, vines, bananas or camotes in rows.

Lalong. To transfer a whole plant, including the root with oil attached.

Pusok. To plant a whole field to one crop or one kind of tree.

Sandol. A paganito rite for rain in time of drought.

Sun-ad or *sunag*. A transplanted tuber.

Tagbung or *hamugdas*. To plant something whole, like a coconut.

Camotes. The camote or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) was a native of tropical America, not to be confused with that potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) so well known nowadays as potato chips or "French Fries." It spread into the Pacific islands of Polynesia, and as far south as New Zealand under the name *kumara*, before the arrival of the Europeans, but not to Asia. The Spaniards brought it to the Philippines at a date which cannot be determined because of a confusion of terms—that is, because 16th-century Spaniards called all Philippine root crops "camotes."

The problem was that when the Iberians started their maritime expeditions in the 15th century, they had no word for such tubers. The only root crops they knew were vegetables like radishes and turnips—indeed, the Spanish word for turnip, *nabo*, was used for roots in general. Thus when the Portuguese found the Africans of Senegal eating yams, they didn't know what to call them and so adopted the local word for "eat"—*inyamis*. Columbus therefore called the sweet potatoes he found in Santo Domingo names, though his followers soon learned the native Taino word, *batata*, and later in Mexico, the Aztec word, *kamotl*, which was hispanized as *camote*. Both words subsequently became a convenient way to refer to root crops for which there was no equivalent in Spanish.

Pigafetta reported "batatas" in Guam and Palawan, for instance, but used the same word in Tidore for *gumbili*, a kind of yam. The Legazpi expedition received "two or three batatas or ñames" in Guam, and recorded the same combination, "batatas and ñames," like a refrain all along the coast of Samar, Leyte, and Bohol, even interchanging the two words in the same sentence.¹¹ Loarca said Visayans ate "some roots like the Santo Domingo batatas they call camotes,"¹² and Juan de la Isla, "some roots almost like the patatas they call *oropisas*, ñames and *camotes*."¹³ "Oropisa" is presumably Oropesa, the old Bolivian province of Cochabamba in the Andes, where potatoes, not sweet potatoes, are still grown.

During the next 50 years of Spanish arrivals from Acapulco, the Caribbean word *batata* gave way to its Mexican equivalent, *camote*. The first dictionaries of Philippine languages, dating from the early 17th century, always used "camote" as a Spanish word, not Bikolano, Tagalog or Visayan. Sánchez defined *halagbungas* as "a certain kind of edible root or camote," and Métrida, *biga* as "large camotes with wide leaves." In Bikol, Marcos de Lisboa called *ubi*, "big brown camotes," and *apare*, "little white camotes like testicles."¹⁴ The San

Buenaventura Spanish-Tagalog dictionary equates camote with gabi, nami, tugi, and ubi,¹⁵ and the unpublished manuscript dictionary of Francisco Blancas de San José defines *bagingas* "some wild camotes," and *butil* as "the bud of the camote they call gabi."¹⁶ The historian therefore cannot tell whether early Spanish explorers reporting "camotes" were referring to sweet potatoes or some other root crops—Dasmariñas in Nueva Vizcaya in 1591, for example, or Quirante in Benguet in 1623.

On the assumption that the "batatas" and "camotes" reported in 1565 were actually New World sweet potatoes, it has sometimes been suggested that they must have been brought over by the Villalobos expedition of 1543. It is well known that Villalobos' starving crewmen tried to grow food on Sarangani Island, but what they planted was corn, not camotes—and it didn't grow. What is more likely is that camotes were introduced like corn and cacao as new crops for the benefit of the colony only after Manila was established as its capital. A reference by English corsair Thomas Cavendish in 1588 is suggestive in this connection. He said that while anchored off Capul Island (he was hoping to intercept the Manila Galleon), "one of the chief Casiques . . . brought us potato rootes, which they call camotas."¹⁷ These were probably real camotes, since it seems unlikely that the Filipino chieftain would have applied the alien name to a native crop.

At any event, whenever and however they were introduced, both the word and the plant were widespread in the Visayas in Alcina's day. He probably gave what was the last word in 1668:

The camotes which were brought here from Nueva España [Mexico] are really what they call batatas in Spain, but these here differ in size, being generally much larger. There are red ones and white. The camote is the refuge of the poor. These roots are rather sweet but of little sustenance and good only for wind.¹⁸

Hunting. Visayans hunted with dogs and nets. The dogs were called *ayam*, the hunters *mangangayam*, and those who could predict whether the dog would be a good hunter by examining the teats at birth were *inayam*. Good ones—*karagaran*—were highly valued, and had to be guarded against poison or witchcraft. When their mother died, or one of the same litter, a rattan collar was put on their neck, like a man in mourning, until they took their next prey.

Some were raised in the house, pampered and fondled: their masters rubbed noses with them—the local equivalent of kissing—and carried them out to the forest on their shoulders. To file their teeth slightly was thought to increase their bravery, and so was a crocodile tooth carried by the hunter, or a boar's tusk grown in a full circle. They were small but fearless—quick enough to avoid a boar's tusks and fierce enough to grab one three times their size by the ankle and hang on until the hunter arrived to spear it. They either took them in the chase or drove them into a strong net, *batung*, with mesh wide enough for little shoats to pass through but catching large ones—*hababatung*.

Large animals were also caught in pits, *awang*, or deadfall traps, *atub*, and smaller ones with snares—*balolang* in general, *balyug* for iguanas, *gawa* for monkeys, *anihas* for wild chickens, and *alikus-kub*, *barang* or *bitik* for birds. The most dangerous trap was the *balatik*, an automatic crossbow or ballista which, when triggered by a line stretched across an animal run, could drive a shaft clean through a pig's body. Thirty or 40 of them might be set in a line at different heights, and there were also small ones for rats—*alugpit* or *padlong*. It was a rather sophisticated machine. Standing on two stout posts driven into the ground in the form of an X, it had a long stock with a slot to hold the shaft, a powerful bow or spring to propel it, and a catch to hold the string and release it when triggered. It even had a safety lock, *goom*, to prevent it from firing accidentally; thus, of somebody who was restrained from acting they said, "*Ginogoom kun balatik*." And of a man who was all set and "rarin' to go," they said, "*Bingat kun balatik*—Cocked like a crossbow."

Hunters stayed out many days, sleeping in huts called *hokdong*, and opening trails in the brush to lead the game into the nets. During their absence their wives could not perform labor like weaving or pounding rice. Part of the first catch was offered up on a tree-stump altar to Banwanun, the mountain-dwelling spirit. The rest was carried home slung on the hunter's back by a tumpline over his forehead, and shared with others: it was never sold or preserved. All animals whose meat was considered fit for human consumption—e.g., deer or civet cat—were referred to as *babuy*, pig.

Fishing. Visayan waters literally teemed with fish in the 16th century. Many swam upstream to spawn in inland streams, and some inhabited swamps and thick muddy waters, rose to the surface

to breathe, and even climbed up onto the roots of mangrove trees. Large ones competed with fishermen by attacking their nets, and more voracious ones like barracuda actually endangered the fishermen themselves. They were caught in nets, traps and corrals at the mouths of rivers or dammed-up streams, with hook and line, or speared with harpoons. Most fishing was done close inshore, so there was little incentive for deep-sea fishing or dragnets large enough to require organized parties. It was often done at night, because schools of fish could be seen shimmering in the moonlight, or because they could be attracted to torches in the boats.

There was a variety of nets. *Paggiyod* were dragnets used in shallow water, fastened to the small of the fisherman's back by a leather brace *paholan*, like the belt the weaver uses with a backstrap loom. *Laya* was a casting net: Sánchez thought it was a recent introduction in his day, though there was a lighter one, *holos*, without lead sinkers. Some were five meters across and so required considerable dexterity to cast: *datus* were proud of such skill—as they were proud of hunting skills. *Baring* were nets woven like loose cloth, fine ones for catching tiny *hipon* shrimp in the surf; *howar* were nets with the widest mesh and were used in swamps. *Parisag* was what is nowadays called a *salambaw*—a large four-cornered net lowered by a simple derrick mounted on a raft. *Pagbiday* was to set nets upright along the edge of 30 or 40 boats strung out along the shore, which caught fish leaping into the air to escape fishermen wading alongside. It was a raucous activity accompanied by much hilarity as fish fell all over those in the boats, sometimes even wounding them.

Rivers were dammed to lead fish into nets or traps, and weirs or corrals, *bakod* or *bobo*, were constructed as long as 250 meters. The roots, bark or berries of more than a dozen different trees, called *tubli* in general, were squeezed into the water to stun the fish, and rattan basket traps were set in creeks—like the one called *pidada* which had the shape and name of a particular kind of porcelain jar. A hook and line was called *rombos*, and harpoons were made in different styles—*kalawit* or *isi* (also used for hunting) barbed like an arrowhead; *sikap*, a two-pronged fork; *sarapang*, a real trident with three or more points; and *bontal*, a heavier one for catching *duyong*, the manatee or seacow. They were thrown with a line attached to the boat, and a powerful fish could pull one out to sea if the line was not quickly cut.

Domestic animals. Seafood was the main source of protein in the Visayan diet, but pigs and chickens were raised for consumption and sacrificial offerings. Since deer and wild hogs were also called *babuy*, domestic pigs were distinguished as *sohong*. Different islands had their own breeds, some of which yielded 120 liters of lard or 240 kilos of pork on butchering. They foraged between village houses and kept the ground clean of offal, or were pastured in nearby woodlands with their ears clipped for identification. One was sometimes raised in the house, where it was reported to be cleaner than a dog, and was called "princess," *binokot*, like the secluded daughters of upper-class *datus* because, like them, it never set foot on the ground. There was also a cat in every house to keep it free of rats, and if a civet cat could be caught young enough to tame, it made an even better mouser. Household dogs were provided with a special ladder to come and go as they pleased, and pet monkeys also acted as watchdogs to give noisy warning of approaching strangers.

Goats were rare: Spanish explorers only observed a few on the coast of Samar and in Cebu. But they were common in Mindanao and areas in contact with Muslims to the south—e.g., they were raised for trade in the Semirara Islands between Panay and Mindoro, which the Spaniards called Goat Islands—*Islas de Cabras*—because they were populated with goats that had been turned loose to breed wild. Horned cattle—that is, cows—were only introduced late in the century from China and Mexico, with a few bulls brought from Spain to improve the stock. The absence of the carabao is noteworthy. That it was not used as a draft animal is not surprising, but that colonial reports listing natural resources do not mention buffalo meat, hide or horns, is. Mention was made of small "horn" containers for perfume, and of one shaman wearing a horn headdress, but not of buffalo horn armor or battle trumpets. The beast was found wild, or feral, in Luzon from the Bikol to the Ilocos, in all of which places it was called *nowang* or *anowang*, but in the Visayas it was *karabaw*—i.e., Malay *kerbau*. But whether it roamed the Visayan hills or not, the Visayans evidently did not hunt it in sufficient quantity to attract Spanish attention.

Cooking. Visayan cooking was done on a clay *kalan* stove, or three stones, *sugang*, in an open hearth. Besides flint-and-steel, there were three traditional methods of making fire by friction (*bag-id*): by pulling a band of rattan back and forth around a split stick stuck

upright in the ground holding the tinder, by rubbing a knife-shaped piece of bamboo along another stuffed with tinder and held flat with the foot, or by rotating a wooden rod between the palms, drill-like, against a wooden board. The tinder was either fine wood shavings or the lint-like fuzz of various palms.

Staple foods were boiled, though tubers, bananas and fleshy leaves or leaf stems were roasted on hot coals. Viands were frequently fried in coconut oil, and both meat and fish were barbecued or smoked as *tapa*. Food of all kinds was steamed in sections of bamboo—*paylaw* in general, *sakol* if rice flour with grated coconut, and *lotlot* if broken out afterwards to retain their cylindrical shape. Grain was also parched in dry pots, and so were seeds and fruit pits intended to be pulverized to mix with rice to stretch a limited supply: *lamur* was any such mixing with millet, sorghum, beans or nuts. *Pili* seeds were collected for this purpose under the trees where they had been dropped by kalaw birds after digesting the flesh.

Seafood—not only fish but eels, snails, squid, crabs, mollusks, turtles and turtle eggs—were the main source of Visayan protein and was preferred to meat. Wild game was considered a typical masculine food and little preferred by women, and all meat was forbidden pregnant women—and so was shark flesh because baby sharks were believed to swim in and out of their mother's womb during her pregnancy. Fish were preserved and marketed as sun-dried *daing*, or *barol*, split open and salted before sunning. *Lasi* was fermented fish paste or meat brine; *dayok*, *danglusi* and *ginamus* were high-flavored adobo-like dishes of minced meat or fish, and *yaman* or *panakot* were any kind of spices and seasonings—all pungent and sour foods fit to supplement a bland starchy diet.

Honey was also an important food, as indicated by the frequent mention of activities connected with it. Seasons were designated by the flowering of trees and plants whose nectar fed the bees—like Katparasan from January to March when the *paraasan* rattan was in bloom. Wind and rain could destroy the blossoms, and typhoons the bees themselves, so the weather was a subject of constant speculation. Conversely, it was believed that for bees to swarm low in the trees was a sign of a bad year to come, and *kagas*, a dry honeycomb, was the euphemism for any vain undertaking or unrewarded labor. In a good year, a man could expect to find as many as 50 hives in one expedition, during which he would sleep in the forest and boil

the honey to prevent its souring before he got back with it. Honey was eaten as a food together with the white grubs it contained, made into confections and sauces, used as a preservative for meat and fruit, and brewed into the mead-like *kabarawan*.

Rice cakes boiled in a little wrapper of coconut leaves were called *puso* after the banana flower, and were prepared in a number of different sizes and shapes—e.g., *linalaki*, masculine, *binuwaya*, crocodile-like, or *kumul sin datu*, "datu's fistful." (The normal way to eat rice was to squeeze a fistful into a lump—*kumul*.) *Tambol* were made with rice flour and coconut milk, *linanggang* with rice and grated coconut, and *handag* were deep fried. Though Visayans did not make cane sugar, they obtained an unrefined brown sugar called *kalamay*—or *chancaca* in Spanish—from palm sap, and peddled it in little square packets of palm leaves called *parak*, ten *parak* being tied together and sold as one *dankay*. And *sarasara* was rice mixed with such sugar, one of a number of snacks or tidbits called *doom*.

Salt was served in rock-hard lumps to be given a few sharp blows over the food, or stirred a few turns in liquids. It was made by pouring a lye drained off saltwater-soaked wood into moulds shaped like a little boat—*baloto*, whence the lump was called *binaloto*. (Granulated salt was obtained from Chinese or "Moros"—that is, Tagalogs.) A piece about 5-6 cm. square was called *gantang* and served as a medium of exchange—e.g., *usa ka gantang* of cloth, about 80 cm., was the length for which a weaver was paid such a piece of salt.

Betelnut. Betelnut is the fruit of the areca palm, and is chewed together with a leaf of the betel vine, from which it has borrowed its name. The nut is cut into segments, sprinkled with lime made from shells, wrapped in a leaf, and chewed into a quid which produces blood-red spittle. In Visayan, the nut was called *bonga*—literally, "fruit"—the betel piper vine was called *buyo*, and so was a prepared quid; to chew it was *mama*, whence the quid was also called *mamun*.

The preparation, exchange and serving of betelnut was the most important social act among Visayans. Men carried the necessary ingredients with them in little baskets or pouches called *maram-an* or *maramanan*, and those who shared segments of the same nut, *kulo*, were *kakulo*, an essential relationship before beginning any discussion or business. For a householder to fail to offer betelnut to anyone who entered his house was an insult inviting

enmity. On formal visits, the quids were prepared and served in valuable metal trays or boxes by females of the household—slaves, daughters, or the lady herself, depending on the social standing of the guest. (In Mindanao epic literature, the betelbox moves magically among the guests all by itself, the *buyo* leaping bite-size into their mouths.) A special honor was to add a touch of musk or a slice of cinnamon bark, or some other aromatic flavoring. And to offer a quid partially chewed, *opa*, was an act of flirtation: to send one in response to a man's clandestine request was an acceptance of his advances, to send it unbidden, an open invitation.

Bonga palms were extensively cultivated, often with a *buyo* vine planted at their base, but inferior nuts from wild palms were used when necessary—e.g., *sarwang*, which wasn't an areca palm at all. Youths chewing for the first time usually suffered *antung* or *alingaya*, giddiness like that produced by alcohol or korot root, and even a young lady's first chew was a kind of puberty rite. In a Suban-on epic, when heroic Sandayo appears before Datu Daug-bulawan so young "the sword at his waist scraped the floor," he is told, "*Bata, k'na ginapog: po dapa no p'nelebon*—Child, no lime for you: you know not woman."¹⁹

Distilling and drinking. One of the first things the Spaniards learned about the Visayans was that they were good drinkers. Magellan had no sooner landed on Homonhon, when people from nearby Suluan presented him with a jarful of what Pigafetta recorded as *uraca*—that is, *arak*, the Malay-Arabic word for distilled liquors. In Limawasa, Pigafetta drank from the same cup as Rajah Kolambu, and his translator, Enrique de Malacca, got so drunk he wasn't much use; and a few days later, the local harvest was delayed while Kolambu and his brother Awi slept off a hangover. In Cebu, Pigafetta drank palm wine, *tuba nga nipa*, straight from the jar with reed straws together with Rajah Humabon, but in Quipit he excused himself after one draught when Rajah Kalanaw and his companions finished off a whole jar without eating anything.

The Spaniards therefore called Visayan social occasions *bacanales*, drinkfests. Loarca commented, however, "It's good they rarely get angry when drunk,"²⁰ and Father Chirino left a well-known tribute to the Boholanos' ability to carry their liquor:

It is proverbial among us that none of them who leaves a

party completely drunk in the middle of the night fails to find his way home; and if they happen to be buying or selling something, not only do they not become confused in the business but when they have to weigh out gold or silver for the price . . . they do it with such delicate touch that neither does their hand tremble nor do they err in accuracy.²¹

There were basically five kinds of Visayan alcoholic drinks—*tuba*, *kabarawan*, *intusor kilang*, *pangasi* and *alak*. *Tuba* was the sap of palms which fermented naturally in a few hours and soured quickly. *Kabarawan* was honey fermented with a kind of boiled bark. *Intus* or *kilang* was sugarcane wine, which improved with aging. *Pangasi* was rice wine or beer, fermented with yeast, but could also be brewed from other grains like millet, all called *pitarrilla* by Spaniards. And *alak* was any of these beverages distilled into hard liquor. *Alak* was drunk from cups, but the others with reed straws from the porcelain jars in which they were brewed or stored, and *pangasi* was required for all formal or ceremonial occasions.

Tuba. *Nipa tuba*, *paog*, was made from wild trees, and was usually strengthened, and given a red color, by the addition of *baruk*, ground *tungug* or *lawaan* bark. But *tuba* made from coconut palms was considered better and was therefore a profitable item of trade. (*Tangway* was to deal in wine, and *tarangwayan* was the equivalent of a tavern.) Distilled into *alak*, it could be transported as far as the oil, vinegar or nuts themselves, but brought a much better price. *Tuba*-tappers rented the trees or were hired to tend them, and where the soil was favorable, whole islands became coconut plantations with the trees spreading by natural propagation to the exclusion of all other vegetation. Suluan was one such island: Pigafetta got the impression that a family of ten could live off two trees there. That is no doubt why Magellan threatened Lapulapu that he would "burn their land and the palm groves off which they supported themselves."²²

Kabarawan. *Kabarawan*—from *baraw*, to temper or mediate—was the wood whose bark was boiled and mixed with honey to produce the beverage. It was boiled to half its volume, mixed with an equal volume of fresh honey, and left to ferment naturally into a smooth, strong liquor—"muy regalado y fuerte," Father Sánchez said.

Unlike more ceremonial drinks like pangasi, it was consumed by men gathered around the jar, all sipping through straws until the bottom of the jar was visible. Since honey was an important item in the Visayan diet, kabarawan was produced in sufficient quantity to market—and its production and consumption were no doubt increased by Spanish tribute demands for candle wax.

Intus. Sugarcane juice was extracted with a simple one-man press. A long springy pole was pivoted over a tree stump and kept bouncing up and down with one hand and a foot pedal, while the cane was inserted to be pinched near the fulcrum with the other. The juice was boiled, preferably in a cast-iron *baong* that held as much as 15 liters, to half its volume. (For Spanish consumption, it was boiled down to a thick syrup.) It was then *sinubaw*, and a small bundle of kabarawan bark was added as seasoning. When cool, it was stored in Chinese jars and left to ferment and age as intus or kilang.

Visayans did not make sugar itself. Even after the introduction of the Chinese sugar mill—the one with two rollers geared together and turned by a carabao—when sugar was for sale to those who could afford it, intus remained the main use for sugarcane. The juice was also drunk as a tonic, and served as a substitute for mother's milk when necessary. Varieties of cane less suitable for pressing were eaten as food or snacks, and invariably offered to visitors upon arrival. *Sagaw*, for instance, was the sweetest variety, but was too hard and fibrous for the Visayan press—though these same characteristics were desirable when inserting it between the rollers of the Chinese mill.

Pangasi. *Basi* was the mash of cooked rice, already leavened with tapay, which was placed in the jar to produce the liquid pangasi. It was let stand until it became strong and sour, and was drunk with the addition of water and, as the jar was drained, the addition of more basi. It was drunk through reed straws called *tayuk* or *halasam*, or drawn from the jar with a *poot*, a node of thin bamboo open at the bottom with a fingerhole near the top, which was submerged in the pangasi until it filled, and then withdrawn with the fingerhole closed to create a vacuum to retain its contents. The mash left in the drained jar was called *borohu*.

Pangasi-drinking began with formality and ceremony. The jars

were placed in a long row down the middle of the room, and the master of ceremonies, after invoking the *diwata* (deity) to drink first, invited the guests to drink in turn, indicating which guest and which jar. Constantly checking the contents of the jars as the drinking went on (a procedure called "nesting," *pugad*), he would call on drinkers to add a certain amount of water, and they were then required to drink that much. These selections were made amid increasing banter and challenges, and finally the singing of *daihuan*, a kind of song in which one man was victimized by rough teasing—but, as Loarca noted, was expected to show no resentment. In the end, some of the pangasi might be "bought"—that is, the host compensated by filling an emptied jar with raw rice.

Alak. Alak or *alaksiw* was anything made with a still—e.g., *alak sa sampaga*: sampaguita perfume—and *makialak* was a confirmed drunkard. The still, *alakan*, was made of a hollow tree trunk, *toong*, and two Chinese vats—*baong*, *kawa* or *karahay*. The toong was caulked on top of the vat containing the tuba or intus to be boiled, and the other one placed on top. The steam condensed on the upper vat's round bottom and dripped off its lowest point into a shallow wooden plate suspended in the middle of the toong, whence the liquid flowed out through a bamboo tube, *tadluyan*, run through the side.

The first liter or two were the strongest and best, and, in the case of intus, had the qualities of brandy. This was called *dalisay*, pure or first-class, a term of high esteem for both wine and gold. (The San Buenaventura Tagalog dictionary says, "24 karats strong . . . burns without fire.") Pangasi was not used as a base for alak, though Pigafetta thought he tasted distilled rice wine in Palawan. Lambug was to mix, dilute or adulterate any of these liquors, and was a common practice. Watered wine was thus called *linambugan*, and so was the child of a mixed marriage or adulterous union.

Drinking etiquette. Except for outright alcoholics who suffered poor health and early demise, Visayans did not drink alone, or appear drunk in public. Drinking was done in small groups or in social gatherings where men and women sat on opposite sides of the room, and any passerby was welcome to join in. Women drank more moderately than men, and were expected to stretch their menfolk out to sleep off any resulting stupor. But men were proud of their

capacity. Father Alcina had a Samareño parishioner whom "neither Spaniards on a bet nor Filipinos with the same intent" could make drunk, no matter how much they gave him, and a famous Bohol datu enjoyed the reputation of downing three liters fresh from the still with one breath.²³ Prudent drinkers, however, prepared beforehand by "lining the belly with food," like lining the cookpot with banana leaves.

Drinking etiquette began with *agda*, exhorting some person—or diwata—to take the first drink. *Gasa* was to propose a toast to someone's health, usually of the opposite sex, and *salabat* was a toast in which the cup itself was offered, even being carried from one house to another for this purpose. *Itib* were milk brothers, and *naga itib* was for two to drink together from the same jar, like two babies nursing at the same breast. *Abong* was an honor a datu might pay one of his timawa by presenting his own cup after he had taken a few sips himself. *Sumsum* was any food taken with the wine (i.e., *polutan*), like the plate of pork Rajah Kolambu shared with Pigafetta, who reported, "We took a cup with every mouthful."²⁴ And had he been a Visayan, he would have murmured politely with each piece, "*Tabitabi dinyo*—By your leave, sir."

Drinking was commonly called *pagampang*, conversation, and neither business deals, family affairs, nor community decisions were discussed without it. For this reason, Spaniards often attributed Filipino attempts to subvert their occupation to an overindulgence in wine. But Alcina assessed the custom more realistically:

When practical matters come up, whether for public projects, orders from the King or his officials, or any other work, and they discuss among themselves the best, quickest and most equitable way to carry it out, if they meet dry and without a little wine first to enliven their interest, they talk little, discourse poorly and slowly, and decide worse; but after drinking something, he who proposes does it with eloquence, those who respond, with discretion, those who decide, with attention, and all with fairness.²⁵

NOTES

¹ All Visayan terms are taken from Mateo Sánchez's *Vocabulario*

de la Lengua bisaya (MS Dagami 1615-1618; Manila, 1711), Alonso de Ménétrida's *Diccionario de la Lengua bisaya, hiliguiena y haraya de la Isla de Panay* (Manila, 1637, 1841), or Francisco Alcina's *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas* (MS 1668).

² Alcina, *Historia*, Part I, book 1, chapter 8.

³ "Información heche en Manila," Isacio Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, vol. 16 (Valladolid, 1983), p. 157.

⁴ "Carta de Miguel López de Legazpi" (Cebu, 7 July 1569), *ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 20.

⁵ Alcina, *Historia* I:3:5.

⁶ Sánchez, *Vocabulario*, p. 24v.

⁷ Alcina, *Historia* I:1:6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I:1:8.

⁹ Sánchez, *Vocabulario*, p. 257.

¹⁰ Juan Martínez, "Una descripción de la vida de los naturales" (Cebu, 25 July 1567), *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de la antiguas Posesiones españoles de Ultramar*, Segunda serie, Vol. 3 (Madrid, 1887), p. 456.

¹¹ "Relacion del viaje y jornada," Rodríguez, *Historia* 13:434-451.

¹² Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas," Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. 5 (Cleveland, 1903), p. 44.

¹³ Juan de la Isla (?), "Relación de las Islas del Poniente," *Colección de Documentos* 3:236.

¹⁴ Marcos de Lisboa (d. 1628), *Vocabulario de la Lengua bicol* (Manila, 1865).

¹⁵ Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de la Lengua tagala* (Pila, 1613).

¹⁶ Francisco [Blancas] de San José, *Vocabulario de las Lengua tagala* (MS, 1610?).

¹⁷Francis Pretty, "The admirable and prosperous voyage of the worshipfull Master Thomas Cavendish," Richard Hakluyt, *Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. 16 (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 40.

¹⁸Alcina, *Historia* I:1:8.

¹⁹Virgilio Resma, "Keg Sumba neg Sandayo: a Suban-on folk epic," *Kinaadman* 4 (1982), p. 291.

²⁰Loarca, "Relación," Blair and Robertson 5:116.

²¹Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (Rome, 1604; Manila, 1969), p. 92.

²²M. de Jong, *Um Roteiro inedito de Circumnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães* (Coimbra, 1937), p. 11.

²³Alcina, *Historia* I:3:22.

²⁴Antonio Pigafetta, *Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo*, text in Blair and Robertson 33:118.

²⁵Alcina, *Historia* I:1:22.

KALANTIAW: THE CODE THAT NEVER WAS

Foreword

I met Kalantiaw for the first time in 1960. It was when I was beginning the study of Philippine history, as most Filipinos begin it, with Gregorio F. Zaide's two-volume *Philippine Political and Cultural History*. Here, in chapter 5, Kalantiaw was presented as the author of a penal code dated 1433, almost a century before Magellan reached the archipelago. I was delighted because Philippine history seemed to be largely the history of what Spaniards and Americans did in the Philippines. But here was a genuine Philippine penal code, complete with the name of the Filipino ruler who wrote it and the date on which it was promulgated.¹

Penal codes, of course, are very revealing of the society for which they were written. Therefore I confidently told my students that the Sixth Order of the Code of Kalantiaw, which fixed a fine as payable either in gold or honey, indicated that gold was as common as honey in the ancient Philippines. My students all laughed. So the next year I told them that the Sixth Order indicated that honey was as expensive as gold. But they also laughed. And they were right. If the Code wasn't laughable, it was at least very peculiar. It prescribed capital punishment for entering a datu's house without permission, but only a year's slavery for stealing his wife.

Obviously there was something wrong—perhaps an error in translation. What language was this Code originally written in, and where was that original? I determined to find out. The opportunity came when I enrolled as a doctoral candidate in the University of Santo Tomas in 1965, and included the search in my examination of prehispanic sources for the study of Philippine history. As it turned out, the source of the Code of Kalantiaw was José María Pavón's 1838-1839 *Las Antiguas Leyendas de la Isla de Negros* (*The ancient Legends of the Island of Negros*).

* * * * *

Las antiguas Leyendas de la Isla de Negros

Las antiguas Leyendas de la Isla de Negros by Father José María Pavón, parish priest of Himamaylan, was contained in two leather-bound volumes, 16 x 11 cm. of 267 and 394 pages respectively, presented to the Philippine Library in 1914 by Mr. Jose E. Marco of Pontevedra, Occidental Negros.² They were accompanied by another leather-bound volume by the same author, of 103 pages of the same size, *Los Cuentos de los Indios de esta Isla de Negros*, dated 1838. Director James A. Robertson noted in his annual report to the Philippine Library Board for the year ending 31 December 1914, that the *Leyendas* "contains the only ancient criminal code of the Filipinos which has yet come to light." Then in 1917, he published an English translation in his "Social structure of, and ideas of law among, early Philippine peoples; and a recently discovered pre-hispanic criminal code of the Philippine Islands" in H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton's *The Pacific Ocean in History*. The same year Josue Soncuya devoted six chapters of his "Historia prehispana de Filipinas contenida en la Conferencia sobre la Isla de Panay" in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Histórico-geográfica de Filipinas* 1.

Both the *Leyendas* and the *Cuentos* perished in the destruction of the Philippine Library in 1945, but typescript copies of the text of the former survive in the libraries of the University of the Philippines and the University of Florida, and in private collections in Manila. Photographic reproductions of three pages of *Las antiguas Leyendas* were published in *The Philippine History Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1919), while its illustrated calendar appeared in the third-anniversary issue of *Renacimiento Filipino* (July 1913) and in Enrique d'Almonte y Muriel's 1917 *Formación y Evolución de las Subrazas de Indonesia y Malaya*. No copy of the text of *Los Cuentos de los Indios* is known to have survived the Battle of Manila. An annotated translation of both works has been published in *The Robertson translations of the Pavón manuscripts of 1838-1839*, Philippine Studies Program Transcriptions Nos. 5-A, 5-B, 5-C and 5-D (University of Chicago, 1957) with an introduction by Fred Eggan and E.D. Hester, and a glossary of Spanish and Philippine terms by Charles P. Warren.

Provenance. Nothing was recorded about the provenance of the Pavón manuscripts until Jose E. Marco's 1954 announcement that he

had got them all from the old convent cook who had stolen them in the Himamaylan looting of 1899.³ This contradicts an oral tradition transmitted by H. Otley Beyer to the late Mauro Garcia in the early 1950's that it was Marco's own father who had been among the looters who carried away a chest thought to contain valuables but which, when accidentally dropped in the river, so increased in weight they realized it contained papers rather than coins or jewelry. At any event, Marco made no reference to these documents or the information they contained in his little 1912 *Resena histórica de la Isla de Negros*, in which he states that the earliest mention of the island was Loarca's in 1580 [sic].⁴

José María Pavón himself is first mentioned in the *Guía de Forasteros* for 1839 as *Catedrático de Sintaxis y Retórica* in the conciliar seminary in Cebu; he is not mentioned in a list of priests and parishes sent by the Bishop of Cebu to the King in 1831, nor in a list of Negros cures sent in 1830 for aid after the "catastrofe de Orihuela."⁵ In the *Libro de Cosas notables de Himamaylan*, he is listed as taking charge of that parish on 7 September 1842, succeeding Don Vicente Guillermo who had been incumbent since 1811 and who died exactly two years later at the age of 77 in the outstation *visita* of Ginigaran which he had built himself. Upon Ginigaran's elevation to parish status in 1848, Father Pavón was transferred there, and his signature appears in an entry of 1849 in the *Libro de Cosas notables de Ginigaran*. Thus the *Guías* for 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846 and 1848 list him as parish priest of Himamaylan, as does R. Echauz's *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros* (Manila, 1894) for 1849, while the 1850 *Guía* shows him in Ginigaran. The Recollect fathers having taken over Negros in 1848-1849, Pavón presumably returned to Cebu; at least his name does not appear in an 1851 list of pueblos and parishes made by the Governor of Negros, and he is known to have been parish priest of Cebu in 1865-1866. His name is missing from the clerical register of the Diocese of Cebu in 1883, so he presumably had left the diocese by that time through death or transfer. Thus there is no evidence of his having been in the Philippines in 1838, or parish priest of Himamaylan in 1839.

Contents. The three reproductions of Pavón pages show that at least the chapter title pages were written in a childish imitation of printing (e.g., the serifs are drawn in but the upper-case I is dotted,

and a variety of type styles are mixed together), with an inexplicable spellings for the middle of the 19th century like *Ivan* for *Juan*. The orthography is peculiar in the extreme—the first book of *Las antiguas Leyendas* employs a spelling more nearly like that of the 16th century than any other period, while the second book is written in an exemplary late 19th-century style.⁶ This change is referred to in a note in the text dated 1 August 1839 stating that the author will henceforth employ the "muchos cambios en la ortografía y en las frases" contained in the "nuevo diccionario de la Real Academia Española." This would presumably be the eighth edition of 1837 which, however, makes no such sweeping reforms, merely increasing the number of words to be spelled with *j* instead of *g*, and condemning such practices as writing *esperto* for *experto*—which, as a matter of fact, is exactly what Pavón or his amanuensis continued to do.

The contents of the *Leyendas* and *Cuentos* taken together show them to be inappropriately titled, for in addition to 25 chapters of legends and myths, there are eleven of superstitions current in Pavón's day, and 26 of straightforward ethnographic nature such as lists of weapons or musical instruments, an illustrated Philippine alphabet, a native calendar, and translations of ten documents dated between 137 (1137?) and 1661. They are written in a personalized style of considerable charm, moralizing digressions, and profuse acknowledgment of oral and written sources—25 different informants on 22 different dates between 1830 and 1840. Among the documents translated are six with prehispanic dates—namely, the 1137 account of old forts, the 1239 narrative of King Maranhiḡ, the 1372 description of burial customs, and 1372 list of extinct animals, the 1433 Code of Calantiao, and the 1489 formulary for making talismans and charms.

At the outset, the question of the calendar by which prehispanic Filipino documents could have been dated must be raised. Eggan and Hester comment:

For dating old documents, either in romanized Bisayan or in the old Bisayan syllabary, and ranging from 1239 A.D. to the Spanish period, he [Pavón] gives no clue as to his procedures. Since he states that the Bisayans did not keep track of the years for any extended period, it is possible that the dates are estimated in terms of genealogical tables, though none is included in the

text. Internal evidence suggests that several of the dates will have to be modified.⁷

To this understatement must be added the comment that the dates themselves, like 15 others in the document, are highly suspicious. They range from the doubtful or meaningless to the anachronistic or absurd. The date of the invention of coconut wine is given as 1379, and the invention of a certain kind of weapon as 1332. An official inscription dated "July 21, 17" (1717?) appears in a document bearing the rubric "March 31, 14" (1714?). A "translation and exact version of a Visayan Higuecine document of the year 1489" refers to the "first Friday of the year," years with "three numbers alike, as for instance, 1777," and coins of Charles V (1519-1556). Reference is made to a map of the island of Negros by Encomendero Madrigal in 1509, and two talismans of the same person—reyezuelo Aroy of Cebu—are dated 1006 and 1737. The Calantiao Code is stated to have been in use in 150 since 1433, and Calantiao himself is referred to in an 1137 source as having built a fort in 1433.

The Bisayan alphabet by Pavón (but dated 1543 and credited to 17th-century Francisco Daza, SJ) is erroneously presented as a phonetic alphabet rather than a genuine Philippine syllabary, and contains a blatant hispanization—"The modulated 'N' they supplied by their combined letter 'NG' and the guttural sign," the guttural sign being nothing other than a large tilde. He says there is no letter *c*, *o*, or *r*, but fills Visayan transcriptions with them, and says they use *k* instead of *c* but only uses it once himself (viz., "Ilokano"). And he thinks the characters representing *e* or *i* is *ei* and *o* or *u* is *ou*.

These perplexing details and confused dates are typical of many peculiarities in *Las antiguas Leyendas* and *Los Cuentos de los Indios*. Their supposed author, for instance, was a secular priest—"The entry 'D' (for 'Don') rather than 'Fr' (for 'Fraile') preceding Pavón's name in the *Guías* is evidence of his status as a secular cleric," Eggan and Hester point out—yet he more than a dozen times signs himself "Fray José María Pavón" and speaks of making a trip to Borneo "together with some companions of the habit." He also dates his residence in the "convento de mi parroquia" in Himamaylan as early as 17 July 1830, and the completion of these books on 1 August 1839, although official records indicate that he did not become parish priest in Himamaylan until 1842. Moreover, he claims to have come to the

Philippines in 1810 and been a Seville schoolboy together with Fray Jorge G. Setien in 1788, which would have made him at least 86 when he was parish priest of Cebu—to say nothing of the fact that Fr. Jorge Guzman de Setien was identified in Marco's *Reseña histórica* as the author of a 1779 travel book about the Philippines.

Anachronisms. To the peculiarities already mentioned, the historian must add the following outright anachronisms in the text of the Pavón manuscripts:

1) The author prays for the preservation of the King of Spain on 24 June 1838, and dedicates a book to him on 1 August 1839, although Spain had no king between 1833 and 1874.

2) The author expresses his gratitude on 14 January 1838 to Don M.V. Morquecho, although Manuel Valdivieso Morquecho was not appointed Alcalde Mayor of Negros until 8 January 1847, did not take office until May 1849, and on 16 October 1847 was still in Cadiz petitioning the Queen not to be sent to the Philippines at all.⁸

3) The author presents a document signed by Francisco Deza, SJ, on "March 31 of the year 14" which bears a stamp, "Parish of Ilog of Occidental Negros" with the superscription, "R.S. in the province and town above named on the twenty-first of the month of July in the year 17." Daza was born in 1620 so the year "14" would have been a standard contraction for 1714, which would have made him 96 at the time of executing this document. Moreover, there was no province of Negros Occidental either then or in Pavón's day, the province of Negros not having been divided until 1908.

4) The author refers to an ancient fortress "located on the sea-shore next to the barrio occupied by the Montes Mara and Y-io—about twenty leagues north of this town." This was presumably written in Himamaylan about Pontevedra (formerly Marayo), which two towns are approximately 20 kms. apart. The *legua* has varied during different periods of Spanish history, but at no time was it shorter than 3.9 kms., and in Pavón's day it was taken as one-twentieth of one degree of latitude, or 5.5 kms.

5) The author refers to "the great and extinct Lemurian continent" (which Robertson misread as "continent of Muriano"). Lemuria was an imaginary land mass hypothesized by English naturalist Philip Lutely Sclater to explain the distribution of lemuroid animals from Madagascar and Ceylon to Sumatra, and was first presented in a paper read before the Royal Zoological Society in 1879. The theory

was soon rendered unnecessary by the discovery of lemur fossils in Europe and North America, but the romantic idea of a lost continent was later revived by theosophists and anthroposophists, and was mentioned in one of the footnotes in Marco's *Resena histórica*.

6) In the Pavón description of the calendar, the author makes the following statement about the month of November—"They called it a bad month, for it brought air laden with putrified microbes of evil fevers." The theory that infectious germs could be transmitted through open air was first seriously argued by Louis Pasteur in the 1850's, and the word "microbe" itself was invented by Dr. Charles Emmanuel Sédillot and proposed publicly for the first time in a lecture in Pasteur's honor before the Academy of Sciences entitled, "De l'influence des travaux de M. Pasteur sur les progres de la chirurgie," in 1878.⁹

All in all, these ludicrous errors and anachronisms can be explained by only one conclusion—namely, that *Las antiguas Leyendas de la Isla de Negros* and *Los Cuentos de los Indios de esta Isla de Negros* are deliberate and definite frauds. They were therefore not written by Father José María Pavón, and their contents have no historical validity.

Kalantiaw: the Code that never was

The Marco-Pavón *Antigua Leyendas* is the source, and the only source, of the Kalantiaw Code—chapter 9 of Part I. The Code therefore can be no more valid than the forgery which contains it. It is entitled "The 17 theses, or laws of the Regulos in use in 150 since 1433," and was supposedly discovered in the possession of a Panay ruler in 1614, its original being still in the possession of one Don Marcilio Orfila of Zaragoza in 1839. The figure "150" must mean 1150 in accordance with the usual custom of abbreviating dates and the example in the second chapter of Part II where the year of a Kalantiaw-built fortress is given as 433 instead of 1433. This makes the statement, "in use in 1150 since 1433," ridiculous, of course, but no more ridiculous than the fact that the fort-building date of 1433 appears in a source itself dated 1137. Despite these peculiarities, however, Robertson published an English translation of the Code in apparent good faith in 1917, the same year Soncuya published the Spanish version.

The name of Kalantiaw himself appeared in print for the first time in a 1913 article by Manuel Artigas in the *Renacimiento Filipino*, "Informes inéditos sobre Filipinas," which made mention of "prehispanic civilization . . . a calendar—written laws—forts."¹⁰ Artigas was the head of the Filipiniana section of the Philippine Library, and the year before, he had supplied footnotes to Marco's *Reseña histórica*—which, as a matter of fact, were much more scholarly than the book itself. The name is documented in no earlier source, though Digno Alba of Kalibo, in connection with the inauguration of the new province of Aklan in 1965, sought it in local folklore. "I had tried to get stories or legends from the present generations of Aklanons living in Batan," he later wrote, "but not one old man can tell me now."¹¹

This shift of the Code from Negros to Panay presumably began with Soncuya's conclusion that Rajah Kalantiaw—as he called him—had written the code for Aklan because of the presence of two Aklanon rather than Hiligaynon words in the text. By the time Zaide included the Code in his 1949 history, the words "Aklan, Panay" had been added to the original rubric, "Echo en el ano 1433—Calantiao—3^o regulo." This process of naturalization was completed in 1956 when Digno Alba announced that Kalantiaw had organized his government in Batan as the ancient capital of the *sakup* of Aklan. A request by the Philippine Government of the Spanish Government for the return of the original codex by the descendants of Marcilio Orfila elicited the hardly surprising information that the Police Commissioner could find no record of any such family in Zaragoza.

By this time, Kalantiaw was well on his way to becoming a National Hero. In 1966, Sol H. Gwekoh's "Hall of Fame" in the old *Sunday Times* magazine (21 August) gave new biographic details—e.g., Datu Bendahara Kalantiaw was born in 1410, his father was Rajah Behendra Gulah, and he became the third Muslim ruler in Panay at the age of 16. Then in 1970, Gregorio Zaide's *Great Filipinos in History* argued that his real name was Lakan Tiaw and gave a direct quote—"The law is above all men." The next year, the *Manila Bulletin* reported the celebration of the 538th anniversary of the promulgation of the Code on 8 December with the coronation of the "Lakambini ni Kalantiyaw." Artist Carlos Valino, Jr., depicted the event itself in oil on canvas with the law-giver reading from a node of bamboo held vertically. The President of the Republic bestowed the Order of Kalantiaw on deserving justices, and a 30-centavo

postage stamp was issued to commemorate his name. Finally, lest some future generation forget a Filipino who "possessed the wisdom of Solomon, the fighting prowess of Genghis Khan, and the sagacious statesmanship of Asoka," his Code was fittingly inscribed on brass in the Kalantiyaw Shrine in Batan, Aklan.¹²

The contents of the Code itself are no less peculiar. They were presumably promulgated by a central authority of sufficient power to put local chieftains to death for failure to enforce them, and prescribe 36 different offenses irrationally grouped in 18 theses, punishable by 15 kinds of corporal and capital punishment bearing no relation to the nature or severity of the crimes. None of these theses can be duplicated in other historic codices, many are hard to understand, some contradict others, and all are utterly un-Filipino in their harshness. Genuine Philippine custom law as described in early Spanish accounts permits even the most serious offenses to be settled by the payment of fines or debt servitude. Only Jose E. Marco thought that Filipino chieftains ruled with "a strong arm and the severity and hardness fit and natural to the ancient governments of the world" (*Reseña histórica*, p. 18).

Legalist commentators have not been wanting to cite the codes of Leviticus or Hammurabi for comparisons of severity, but what is incredible about the Kalantiaw Code is not its severity but its capricious viciousness. Its catalogue of punishments alone sounds like the fantasies of some uninhibited sadist—plunging the hand into boiling water three times, cutting off the fingers, laceration with thorns, exposure to ants, swimming for three hours, drowning weighted with stones, beating to death, or being burned, boiled, stoned, crushed with weights, cut to pieces, or thrown to crocodiles.

One wonders what pedagogical mischief has been done to three generations of Filipino youth by the belief that their ancestors suffered a society submissive to such a legal system.

Postword

These conclusions were presented in my doctoral dissertation, and defended on 16 June 1968 before a panel of eminent Filipino historians which included Teodoro Agoncillo, Horacio de la Costa,

Marcelino Foronda, Mercedes Grau Santamaria, Nicolas Zafra, and Gregorio Zaide. During the *revalida*, not a single question was raised about the chapter which I called "The Contributions of Jose E. Marco to Philippine historiography." Once the degree was granted, the thesis was published in *Unitas* 41 (1968), and as *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* by UST Press the next year, with a revised edition in 1984 by New Day Publishers. So far as I know, they have been challenged by no other historian to date.

For some years after these publication, I had reason to hope that the ghost of Kalantiaw had finally been laid. The popular myth was not repeated in Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* (1970), Pedro A. Gagelonia's *Concise Philippine History* (1970), Ferdinand E. Marcos' *Tadhana* (1976), or Perfecto V. Fernandez's *Custom Law in Pre-conquest Philippines* (1976). And when my own mentor, Dean Antonio W. Molina, published a Spanish version of his 1960 *The Philippines through the Centuries* as *Historia de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1984), he replaced the Code with one sentence—"La tesis doctoral del historiador Scott desbarate la existencia misma de dicho Código (The doctoral dissertation of the historian Scott demolishes the very existence of the said Code)." Yet, at the time I retired from teaching Philippine history in 1982, freshmen were still entering the State University persuaded that Kalantiaw was an actual historic figure and that he promulgated a genuine Philippine penal code in 1433.

I wonder if my successors are still sharing their classrooms with this Filipino phantom and the law code that never was.

NOTES

¹The second oldest known written code of the Filipino people is the Penal Code of Rajah Kalantiaw, the third chief of Panay. It was written by Kalantiaw in 1433 A.D., after which he submitted it to his overlord Rajah Besar.—Gregorio F. Zaide. *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (Manila, rev. ed., 1957), Vol. 1, p. 61.

²Marco's widow, Mrs. Concepcion Abad Marco, stated in 1967 that her husband had been born on 19 September 1866, but his obituary in the *Manila Times* on 22 October 1963 gave his age as 86.

He himself informed the Philippine Studies Program of the University of Chicago in 1954 that he had been born in Marayo (Pontevedra) in 1886, graduated from the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, served as Insular teacher 1903-1910 after taking "special courses in agriculture and industrial chemistry in the University of Santo Tomas," and as postmaster-operator 1911-1920; and that he was interpreter and clerk of court in the Bacolod CFI from 1920 to 1929. His name, however, does not appear in the records of either the UST or the Ateneo. His avocational interests are reviewed in W.H. Scott, *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (New Day Publishers, rev. ed., 1984), chapter 5, "The Contributions of Jose E. Marco to Philippine historiography."

³Letter from Jose E. Marco to E.D. Hester of the PSP, dated Bacolod 7 June 1954.

⁴Jose E. Marco, *Reseña histórica de la Isla de Negros desde los Tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestros Días*, published serially as a special supplement to the *Renacimiento Filipino*, from Año II, Núm. 87 (21 April 1912), p. 1378-a, to Año III, Núm. 128 (28 February 1913), p. 1104-d.

⁵This reference, like the others in this paragraph, was supplied from archives in Seville and Madrid by Father Angel Martínez Cuesta, OAR, to whom I am deeply indebted.

⁶Examples are Book 1: "Aquellos qe por lo reglar savuian trazar garabatos, eran: los qe is po sv fversa, ia por listeza sobre salia de svs compañeros" (p. 39), and Book 2: "Estos datos no los he recogido escritos como las otras, y los he recogido en los rincones, en otros muchos lugares, con fuerza y sacrificio de mi cuerpo y paciencia" (p. 41).

⁷Fred Eggan and E.D. Hester, *The Robertson Translations of the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838-1839* (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, 1957), No. 5-A, pp. x-xi.

⁸See note 5 above.

⁹René Vallery-Radot, *La Vie de Pasteur* (Paris, 1900), p. 382.

¹⁰*Renacimiento Filipino*, special third anniversary issue, July 1913.

¹¹Personal communication dated Kalibo 15 May 1967, in response to my inquiry of 5 May, "When you were a child, Don Digno, did not the old folks of Aklan have stories about Kalantiaw even before the discovery of the Pavon documents in 1913? Were there no popular legends or folklore that the elders told their grandchildren?"

¹²Gregorio F. Zaide. *Great Filipinos in History* (Manila, 1970), pp. 224-225.

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